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Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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Second Series

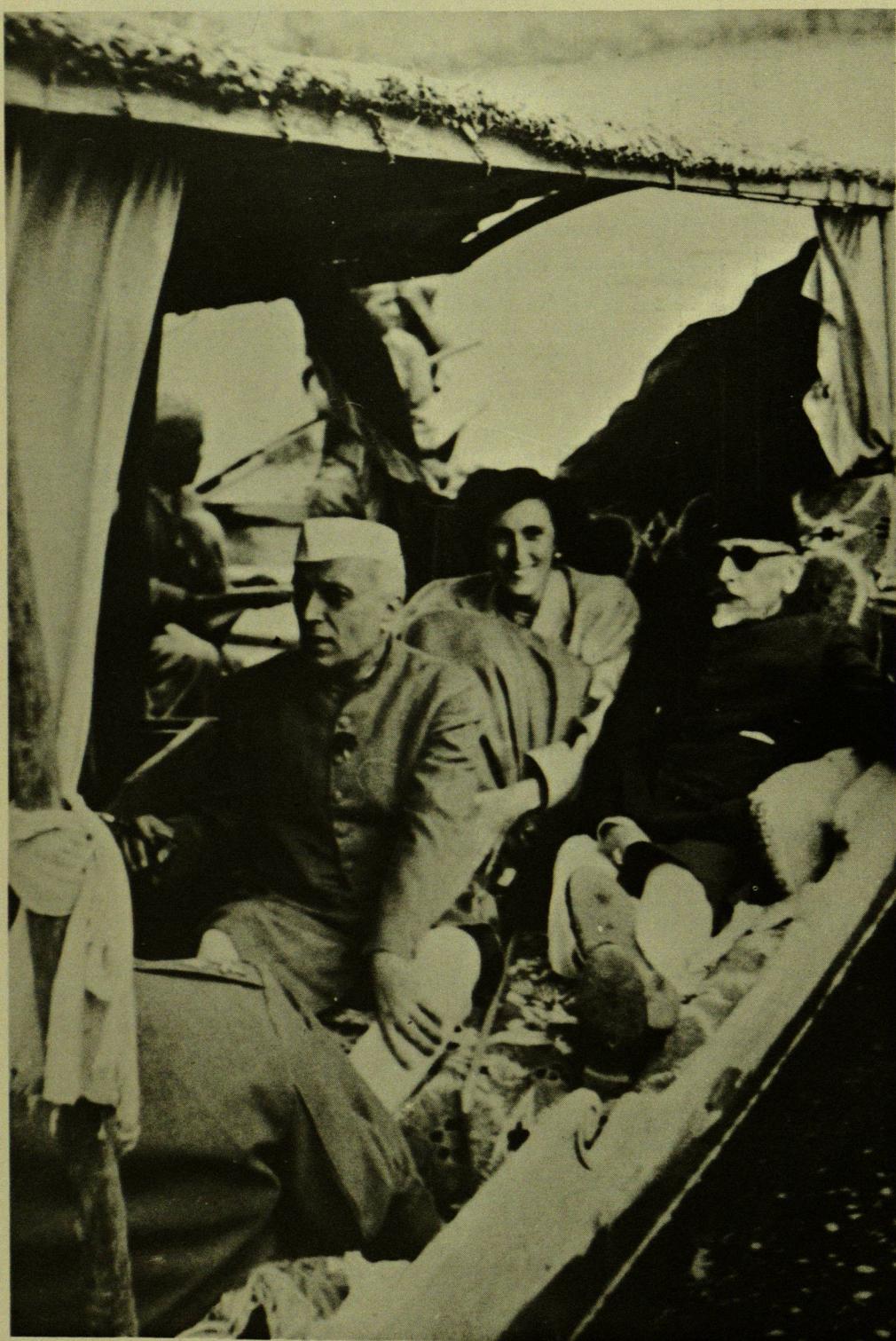
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A large, stylized, handwritten signature of Jawaharlal Nehru in white ink, positioned in the bottom right corner of the cover.A smaller, stylized, handwritten signature of Jawaharlal Nehru in white ink, located in the bottom left corner of the cover.

"So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. . . .the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being."

Indira Gandhi

**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



SRINAGAR, 29 MAY 1949

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Eleven

**A Project of the
Jawaharlal Nehru
Memorial Fund**

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General Editor

S. Gopal

FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps, outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interest in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively

and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

India Fund

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

During the period from 1 May to 20 June 1949 covered by this volume Jawaharlal Nehru was preoccupied with the tasks of nation-building. He was concerned with improving the economy, particularly food production, the rehabilitation of refugees, the final stages of constitution-making and problems of education and culture. The declining state of the Congress was a matter of serious concern; so also the violence and terrorism indulged in by the communists. These disruptive tendencies rather than the theory of communism were stressed and dealt with. The remedy, according to Nehru, was a positive approach combining an effective economic programme with a personal touch.

Kashmir remained a problem, with Pakistan continuing to be in an aggressive mood, the United Nations Commission attempting to tone down India's stand and the Maharaja and Shaikh Abdullah moving in contrary directions. But a firm approach improved the general situation.

The agreement reached in London at the end of April on the continuance of India in the Commonwealth on her becoming a republic was expected to provide stability and security to the country and to help achieve rapid progress without limiting freedom of action. Nehru defended the decision in the Constituent Assembly and before the All India Congress Committee. In external affairs, the emphasis was on the development of bilateral relations with the great powers as well as with the neighbours. While only constitutional agitation by the Nepalese could be permitted in India, political reforms in that country were regarded as imperative.

With Nehru as Prime Minister involved in all aspects of policy-making and providing the impetus for action in many spheres, the volume of his correspondence, notes, memoranda and speeches has begun to multiply enormously. This has necessarily meant a severe effort at keeping the *Selected Works* within manageable limits. But every attempt is being made to ensure that no item of any importance or significance is omitted.

The Nehru Memorial Library has been good enough to provide access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru and other relevant collections. Shrimati Indira Gandhi made available to us a large number of documents in her possession and these papers have been referred to in the footnotes as the J.N. Collection. The Secretariats of the President, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, the Ministries of External Affairs, Law and Irrigation, the National Archives of India and the Press Information Bureau have authorized the reproduction of material in their possession. Much of it is classified and some portions of it have necessarily had to be deleted. A few items from the volumes of *Sardar Patel's Correspondence* have also been included.

The biographical footnotes covered in the earlier volumes of the *Selected Works* have been mentioned in the index with the volume number.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.F.L.	American Federation of Labour
A.I.C.C.	All India Congress Committee
A.I.R.	All India Radio
A.I.T.U.C.	All India Trade Union Congress
C.-in-C.	Commander-in-Chief
C.I.D.	Criminal Investigation Department
C.P.	Central Provinces
C.P.I.	Communist Party of India
H.M.	Honourable Minister
H.M.G.	His Majesty's Government
I.B.	Indus Basin
I.C.R.C.	International Committee of the Red Cross
I.C.S.	Indian Civil Service
I.N.A.	Indian National Army
I.N.T.U.C.	Indian National Trade Union Congress
M.E.A.	Ministry of External Affairs
M.E.A. & C.R.	Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations
M.L.A.	Member of Legislative Assembly
N.A.I.	National Archives of India
N.W.F.P.	North West Frontier Province
P.C.C.	Provincial Congress Committee
P.E.P.S.U.	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
P.M.	Prime Minister
P.M.S.	Prime Minister's Secretariat
R. & R.	Relief and Rehabilitation
R.S.S.	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
T.I.F.R.	Tata Institute of Fundamental Research
T.U.C.	Trade Union Congress
U.C.R.W.	United Council for Relief and Welfare
U.K.	United Kingdom
U.N.	United Nations
U.N.C.I.P.	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
U.N.I.C.E.F.	U.N. International Children's Emergency Fund (U.N. Children's Fund)
U.P.	United Provinces
U.P.P.C.C.	United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee
U.S.A.	United States of America
U.S.S.R.	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
W.M.P.	Works, Mines and Power

1

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION
I. The Economy

I. The Economy

i. Food and Agriculture

1. Import of Tractors¹

A few days ago I learnt, rather casually, that Mr Pashabhai Patel² was going to America to purchase a large number of very expensive tractors on behalf of Government. The cost was said to run into two or three crores of rupees.

You will remember that I have drawn your attention previously to the Ferguson tractor³ which appears to be in every way suitable to India, except for one factor: it requires petrol. I am not myself at all convinced that this use of petrol by it is a sufficient reason to balance and override the other far greater advantages. I think this matter should be considered fully soon, before we go on investing in a big way in other more expensive and less suitable tractors. I might mention that I met Mr Ferguson⁴ in London and discussed his tractor and various schemes for tractor manufacture etc. in India. I have no doubt in my mind that the Ferguson tractor is an improvement on the other tractors. Apart from this, it is an eminently simple and cheap machine and not the complicated monsters which break down fairly easily.

I have learnt from the U.P. that a large number of ploughs brought here through Mr Pashabhai Patel broke down owing to the hard soil and thus delayed all the U.P. programme for food production. This shows how careful we must be in ordering anything. Before ordering such ploughs we should have taken care that they were suitable. I do not want these mistakes to take place in regard to tractors also.

Anyway, our tractor policy should be carefully considered with a view to its future development and manufacture of tractors on a large scale in India. It is not wise to allow matters to drift and for us to buy odd tractors wherever we can get them.

You obtained a number of Ferguson tractors here for purposes of experiment. What has happened to them?

I should like to see your tractor experts some time or other, and, if possible, to visit your tractor station near Delhi.

1. Note to the Minister for Food and Agriculture, 22 May 1949. File No. 31(34)/48-PMS.
2. Of Messrs Pashabhai Patel and Company, Bombay.
3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 8, pp. 36-37.
4. Harry George Ferguson.

2. Colouring of *Vanaspati*¹

You will remember that the Working Committee discussed the question of *vanaspati* and certain points were specially mentioned.

(1) The first point was that as far as possible we should put a stop to any further *vanaspati* factory being put up. For this purpose, new machinery should not be allowed. If permits etc. have already been issued, priorities should be so arranged as to delay or even prevent this machinery from coming in. Apart from other reasons, our sterling and dollar balances are so low that we cannot afford to spend them on anything which is not urgently required. You might perhaps have the law looked into as to what else can be done to stop the putting up of further *vanaspati* factories. Even if the machinery arrives, I think you should inform the owners of it that they should not put up any factory, and if they do so, that will be at their risk, for it is quite possible that Government may take some action in the near future.

(2) The question of colouring was also considered. It is quite clear that any colouring matter should not be injurious. The other question as to whether the colour can be taken off or not deserves enquiry, but it is not so important. The attempt to decolour will be a serious offence and anyhow we will take the risk. Personally I do not see why there should have been so much delay in settling on a colouring agent. You will remember that Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant stated that the U.P. had found a suitable colouring procedure.

We should, of course, wait for our experts' opinion regarding the possibility of harm being done by *vanaspati*. I think, however, the experts should be told to speed up their inquiries.

The other step that has to be taken is to prevent adulteration.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant stated that a U.P. Bill regarding *vanaspati* had been held up at the Centre. It is not quite clear why this was held up and I hope you will please look into it and, if there is no special objection, allow the U.P. to proceed with their Bill.

1. Note to the Minister for Food and Agriculture, 22 May 1949. File No. 31(53)/49-PMS.

3. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi
May 30, 1949

My dear Kher,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th May. As usual, it is most interesting and detailed.

May I congratulate you on the successful efforts of your Government in regard to food procurement. I think it is an excellent idea to award prizes to villages. I should imagine that prizes for production also would be a good idea.

About Governor's tours, it is clear that no Governor can institute enquiries or do anything which in fact lowers the prestige of a Minister. All he can do, in case a complaint is made, is to refer it to the Minister. I think in the balance Governor's tours can be definitely useful.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

4. To the Premiers of Provinces¹

New Delhi
June 4, 1949

My dear Premier,

The Governor General has made a suggestion to me which I pass on to you. I quote from a letter he has sent me:

I have an idea which I would like you to consider and promote if you agree, after consulting your colleagues. It relates to the Grow-More-Food Campaign.² Many steps should be taken and are being taken and are urged

1. File No. 31(55)/49-PMS. Copies of this letter were sent to Jairamdas Doulatram and Vallabhbhai Patel.
2. The Grow-More-Food Campaign was launched in April 1942 and extended by the Interim Government in 1946 for another five years. The Government undertook several quick-yielding measures to meet the gaping food deficit due to the Second World War and reduction of import of rice from Burma. The measures included reclamation of land, digging of wells, canals and tube-wells for irrigation, increased use of improved seeds, green manures, composts and fertilisers and the setting up of village panchayats and cooperatives.

to be taken. Along with them, as you have said in your letter to the premiers,³ I have long been of opinion that an effective prize should be offered. Nothing will appeal to the ryots actually engaged in agriculture so effectually as a prize in the form of remission in land revenue (or rent in the case of zamindari tenure). The prize will be most effective and conducive to mutual cooperation in all the things such as will make for successful cultivation, if the whole community gets the benefit of it rather than the individual cultivator or cultivators. I suggest therefore that in every province the *taluka* (or any other administrative unit that may be fixed) which is found to have produced the highest percentage of increase in grains-production may be exempted from land revenue (or rent payable to the zamindar if it is a zamindari area that gets the first place). The method of computation may be fixed by the provincial governments, suitable to and in terms understood by the people of the province. The conditions should be such as to give an equal chance to poor as well as fertile areas by basing the award on percentage of increased production.

My suggestion involves the loss of land revenue to the provincial government or of rent to the zamindar to the extent of the yield of one *taluka*. This the Central Government could well afford to offer to reimburse as its share in the expenses of this campaign. I feel this will give a great impetus to the "More Food" campaign. The whole province will compete for the prize and thus there will be great activity all over.

I do not know how all this will work out in practice. But the general idea appears attractive. I should like you to consider it and send me your reactions. Perhaps you could suggest variations of the central theme.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *post*, Section 7, item II.

5. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
June 4, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of today's date about giving prizes for the Grow-More-Food Campaign. I think the basic idea is very good, but working it out may not

1. File No. 31(55)/49-PMS.

be quite so easy. Anyway I am forwarding your suggestion to the premiers of provinces and asking them for their reactions to it. We shall then consider it here.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

6. To B.R. Ambedkar¹

New Delhi
June 5, 1949

My dear Ambedkar,

Article 253(1) in the Draft Constitution states that no duty on salt shall be levied by the Union Government. Whether this should be included in the Constitution or not is an arguable matter. I would personally prefer not to include it.² But in any event I should not like the State to be prevented from levying an import duty on foreign salt for giving protection to the Indian salt industry. Otherwise we might have a large-scale dumping of salt from abroad and Government might be precluded from taking any steps.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Copies of this letter were sent to Vallabhbhai Patel, Gopalaswami Ayyangar and John Matthai.
2. By an amendment moved by Mahavir Tyagi Clause (1) of Article 253 was deleted by the Constituent Assembly on 8 August 1949.

7. To N.V. Gadgil¹

New Delhi
June 5, 1949

My dear Gadgil,²

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of 26th May about the agreement on the Mor scheme.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Central Minister for Works, Mines and Power at this time.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Regarding Bihar's claim for first priority on the irrigated lands for resettlement, surely the principle should be not that a particular province has a prior claim but that the displaced population has a prior claim. If the displaced population is from Bihar, then they should have the prior claim.

Regarding linguistic provinces, I have written so frequently on the subject to West Bengal as well as Bihar that there is hardly any need for me to do so again. I am quite clear that this question should not be raised. If necessity arises, I shall write again.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To Hiralal Shastri¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1949

My dear Hiralalji,

You will probably remember that I spoke to you long ago about the discovery of subterranean water in parts of Jodhpur State. At that time the then Maharaja² was very excited about it and so was the present Maharaja³ and they promised to take steps immediately to explore this matter further. As a matter of fact, they did nothing of the kind and nobody has taken this up.

Originally the presence of this subterranean water was pointed out to me by Kailas Nath Kaul, Professor of Botany, Agriculture College, Kanpur. I had sent him to Jodhpur in another connection, to find out how far it was possible to grow certain desert plants there so as gradually to reclaim the desert. On his return, he told me about the possibility of this subterranean water. He went again and surveyed the area from the air and was confirmed in his opinion. There the matter rested.

I attach the greatest importance to this and it has been a great disappointment to me that no further step was taken to develop this. Both from the point of view of Jodhpur and Rajputana⁴ and of Grow-More-Food this was a vital matter.

1. File No. 17(148)/49-PMS.

2. Umaid Singhji.

3. Hanwant Singhji (1923-1952); became ruler in June 1947.

4. Jodhpur State joined the new Union of Rajasthan on 4 March 1949.

I have waited now for about a year and a half and nothing has been done except political conflicts and intrigues. This is a very disheartening business. I rather doubt if your Government has got the material or the expert knowledge available to undertake this operation rapidly. I would suggest, therefore, that you might agree to the Government of India undertaking this work directly, naturally in cooperation with your Government. Probably, we could do it much more quickly and it would be a great blessing to Jodhpur and Rajasthan if we did find water in considerable quantities in the deserts.

I am not developing this idea at present as I want your reactions to it first. For the time being, I have not even consulted the States Ministry or our Agriculture Ministry. But I am now approaching them on this subject so that they may give thought to it.

Please let me have an early answer so that we might be able to go ahead with this scheme.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

I enclose a copy of a letter I am sending to Hiralal Shastri, Premier of Rajasthan.² I do not know if I have ever spoken to you about this matter. But I gave some thought to it a year ago and became quite convinced from the reports I received from Kailas Nath Kaul about the presence of large quantities of subterranean water. In fact, much of this water is just near the surface about twelve to fifteen feet below the soil. The soil is good and as soon as water is available, it can be used immediately for wheat or other crops. The only question is as to the quantity of water available. Some people think that the quantity is very large and can change the face of the part of the Jodhpur desert. Anyway, it is something which must be seen to as soon as possible. It would be a very good addition to your food programme and there would be something dramatic about growing food in the desert.

1. File No. 17(148)/49-PMS.
2. See the preceding item.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I have waited for a year and a half and nothing happened. I am quite convinced that the Jodhpur or Rajasthan authorities are incapable of taking this up and even if they take it up, they will make a mess of it. I propose, therefore, that our Agriculture Ministry should definitely take charge of this matter. From all accounts not much money is needed. All that is necessary is to put a number of pumps in various places and perhaps something else also.

If you like, I shall send for Kailas Nath Kaul from Kanpur to discuss this matter with you. The more I think of it, the more attracted I feel to this proposition. I was convinced of it even before, but quite accidentally the Paniwala Maharaj³ (the water diviner from Jamnagar), as he is called, told me yesterday evening that he knows for a fact that there was a subterranean lake in Jodhpur.

Please think about this; then we can have a talk.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Jivaram Durlebji.

10. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
June 10, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

When the Cabinet considered Lord Boyd Orr's² report³ together with your Ministry's note on it, we came to certain decisions in accordance with your proposals. These decisions involved the taking of certain other steps by you in consultation with the Economic Committee and me.

1. File No. 31(49)/49-PMS.
2. John Boyd Orr (1880-1971); Professor of Agriculture, University of Aberdeen, 1942-45; first Director-General, Food and Agriculture Organisation, 1945-48; awarded Nobel Peace Prize, 1949; author of several books including *Food, Health and Income*, 1936, *Food and the People*, 1944, *The White Man's Dilemma*, 1952, *Feast and Famine*, 1960, and *As I Recall*, 1966.
3. Boyd Orr emphasised the urgency of increasing food production and recommended reorganisation of the agricultural administration with a director with dictatorial powers. When the programme and necessary funds were approved, a deputy director was to be appointed in each province, and leaders for villages as soon as they could be trained. He privately suggested that Nehru ask the U.S. to supply several million tons of nitrogenous fertilizer and certain equipment on deferred payment. The U.K. should also be asked to supply a few thousand Ferguson tractors.

Will you please let me know what further steps you have taken in this behalf? I am very anxious that we should finalise this matter and go ahead as soon as possible. I am quite convinced that the only real way to succeed is to put forward a complete and consolidated programme before the country and then push ahead with all our might. We want a psychological change. Unfortunately, there is a feeling in the country that nothing much is being done and even what is done is rather spasmodic and without much effect. This can only be got over by our pulling ourselves out of our routine approach and making an entirely new and forceful approach.

I suggest to you, therefore, that you should concentrate on this and till we have finished it, you should give up all touring and any other preoccupation that might take your time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
June 11, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

Thank you for your letter of 11th June.² I am quite sure that your tours do good, but I am equally sure that we shall not change the psychological atmosphere in the country unless we proceed in a more organised way about it. That is to say, we must draw up our full programme on the basis of Boyd Orr's report etc., and put it forward with all our strength before the country. I should like to broadcast and I should also like to go to some provinces to push that programme. That is the time when you should undertake big tours.

The immediate need is the finalising of this programme. I see there has been so much delay about it. I do not want anything to be hung up because of me and in any event I am available.

1. File No. 31(49)/49-PMS.

2. Jairamdas Doulatram assured Nehru of all-round efforts to accelerate the Grow-More-Food Campaign and added that, though his tours in the provinces had stimulated the food programme and activated the local governmental machinery, he would stop touring if Nehru wished it.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I suggest, therefore, that you should concentrate on this business of finalising our programme and not to tour till then. If you have already promised to go to Calcutta on the 16th June, you may certainly go there. But otherwise I do feel that Central organisation has to be attended to first.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
June 13, 1949

My dear Pantji,

May I congratulate you on the Zamindari Abolition Bill,² which you have recently published. I have not read it fully and I do not know all its details. But I read your press statement, and my reaction was that this Bill is generally a good one and your scheme of compensation etc. is most ingenious. I hope that you will have the satisfaction soon to see this Bill, over which you have laboured for long, coming into operation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. The salient features of the Bill, introduced in the U.P. Assembly in July 1949, were: a) acquisition of the intermediaries' land against compensation; b) a new system of land tenure to be evolved combining peasant proprietorship with the development of self-governing village communities, vested with ownership rights over common land, and with powers of local administration and management; c) encouragement of cooperative farming; d) protection of interests of cultivators without proprietary rights; and e) restriction on the right of letting out land and ceiling on further acquisition of land.

13. Agrarian Unrest in East Punjab and P.E.P.S.U.¹

For some time past I have been having reports of agrarian unrest in East Punjab. Ejctions on a considerable scale were taking place and as a consequence there

1. Note to the Ministry of States, 18 June 1949. J.N. Collection.

was also some satyagraha² in various places. I pointed out to the East Punjab Government that any policy of ejection at this stage, or, indeed, at any stage, was not only generally unjust but also certainly impolitic. In fact, when such ejections took place in the United Provinces on any considerable scale, the Government there tried to stop it. Now, of course, with the new Zamindari Abolition Bill, there can be no such question in future.

2. So I suggested to the East Punjab Government that they should discourage in every way these ejections from land and formulate their agrarian policy quickly. The East Punjab Government are, I believe, trying to do so to the best of their ability. It is manifest that agrarian unrest is not going to be lessened by ejections and the communists and others find fertile ground when there is such agrarian unrest and no security of tenure.

3. I am given to understand that such ejections from land are taking place in probably even greater numbers in P.E.P.S.U. This has resulted in a worsening of the situation and greater agrarian unrest. There have also been cases of firing on the tenantry and deaths. The matter rather gets mixed up with communist activity.

4. One case which occurred two or three months ago was brought to my notice. This was in Kishangarh in Patiala where certain proprietary tenants were sought to be ejected and firing took place. I believe it was said that there were some absconders and the police went to seize them. This may have been so. But if it is true that the Superintendent of Police himself was the proprietor of that land, then it seems rather improper that he should be in charge of ejections of tenants from his own land.

5. I understand that tenants in these areas have certain proprietary or occupancy rights and an attempt is being made by the superior landlords to deprive them of these rights and convert them into tenants-at-will.

6. I have been pointing out to premiers of provinces and others that one of the most vital problems that we have to face is the agrarian problem and unless we find a solution for it, or a partial solution at least, our troubles will increase. It is, therefore, important that in East Punjab as well as in P.E.P.S.U. this agrarian situation should be faced with a vision and any kind of repression of the tenantry, and more especially ejections, should be prevented.

7. I should like to know what kind of objective is being aimed at in P.E.P.S.U. This Union of States is rather artificial and geographically unsound. There are islands of territory cut off from one another. This must come in the way of efficient

2. On 16 May, the Socialist Party launched a satyagraha against ejection of tenants by landlords in Hissar district. On 31 May, Mehar Chand Ahuja, Secretary, East Punjab Socialist Party, warned that the agitation would spread to other districts if an ordinance stopping ejection of tenants was not promulgated. He also wanted abolition of the jagirdari system and restoration of land to those evicted. On 6 June, Gurmukh Singh Musafir, President, East Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, also demanded immediate promulgation of an ordinance against ejection.

administration and encourage smuggling and other illegal activities. In other parts of India, a policy of consolidation has been deliberately aimed at and carried out with a great measure of success. In regard to P.E.P.S.U. and the East Punjab there appear to be constant difficulties because of geographical and other factors. I should, therefore, like to know what the States Ministry is aiming at in order to solve these present-day problems. It was, I believe, said at one time that Sikh sentiment demanded the present arrangement or something like it. Does that Sikh sentiment still feel that way? And even if it is so, does this not come in the way of a proper growth of this area? In any event, islands of territory appear to be undesirable.

14. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
June 18, 1949

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for your letter of June 16th. I have already written to you about your Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Bill. The more I look at it, the more I like the general principles underlying it. I wish you all success with this Bill. But I hope that you will push it through as rapidly as possible. Time is precious now, more precious than ever, and every delay means further difficulty.

As regards Clause 24 of the Draft Constitution,² I entirely agree with you and I hope that you will be here and will press for your viewpoint. I am quite sure that the situation in India urgently demands that we should not tie ourselves up in the way suggested by some legalists.

The Constituent Assembly has been adjourned for five or six weeks. I do not think it will meet before the end of July. But we should like you and other premiers to come here a week before that, so that we may consider all the matters left over at leisure before the Assembly meets. Anyhow you have got plenty of time now for your Bill.

I met Albert Mayer the other day here and was very gratified to learn of the progress of his work in Etawah district. I have asked him for a fuller report.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Article 24 of the Draft Constitution dealt with the right to property, prescribing procedure for compulsory acquisition of property against compensation. This was included in the Constitution as Article 31 after incorporation of several amendments.

15. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi

June 20, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

About the Food Commissioner, since you spoke to me I have dropped the name I mentioned.² I had a talk with Jairamdas today and told him so. I am afraid a businessman will not create a favourable impression even though he might have had some previous experience of farming.

I discussed this question with Rajaji today. He made an unusual suggestion. The name he mentioned was that of Kala Venkatarao.³ He said that Venkatarao had done well as Minister in Madras and was a man of resource and energy. I am attracted to this proposal. I am sure Pattabhi will resist it but perhaps we can get over that.⁴

I have not mentioned this to anyone yet, not even Jairamdas. Could you please let me have your views?

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 233-234.
2. Nehru had suggested Mohanlal Gautam, Minister for Local Self-Government, U.P., as Deputy Minister and Food Commissioner.
3. (1900-1959); participated in the freedom movement; elected to Madras Legislative Assembly, 1937 and 1946; Member, Constituent Assembly, 1946; Revenue Minister, Madras Government, 1947-49; General Secretary, Indian National Congress, 1949-51; Minister for Planning, 1955, and for Finance, Andhra Pradesh Government, 1956-59.
4. In fact, R.K. Patil was appointed as Food Commissioner.

I. The Economy
ii. Livestock

1. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi
May 26, 1949

My dear Kher,

I do not exactly know what your Government's policy is regarding horse-racing. I understand that you are discouraging it or putting an end to it because of its connection with gambling.

There is however another aspect of this matter. It is very desirable for us to encourage horse breeding and indeed our Army is thinking more and more of having horses for various purposes in the future. The Commander-in-Chief² spoke to me the other day about this and said that we must devise means for encouraging horse breeding. How exactly we can do so, I do not know. The stoppage of horse-racing will certainly remove an inducement for horse breeding. I would hesitate therefore to take a step which immediately does us this disservice. I do not know if your Government has considered this question from this point of view.

I have received a letter from the Governor General³ which might interest you.⁴ I am therefore enclosing a copy of it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(211)/51-PMS.

2. K.M. Cariappa.

3. In his letter of 26 May to Nehru, C. Rajagopalachari argued that horse-racing was necessary for encouraging the breeding of good horses but it could be maintained only if there was inducement by way of betting. It also provided amusement to a large body of non-gamblers and it was not proper to eliminate "joy from our lives. What Christians call original sin will take various forms eluding every legislative enactment." He also noted that the revenue derived through racing was not a tax on the poorest as in the case of the drink revenue.

4. Kher replied on 27 May that his Government was discouraging horse-racing with a view to ending it ultimately.

2. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
June 2, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am writing to you about horse-racing in India. Both the Madras and the Bombay Governments have taken or announced that they would take some action in regard to racing or rather in regard to the gambling connected with racing. It is natural that we should try to limit or put an end to gambling as far as we can.

But this question raises other rather important issues and the main one is the question of national horse breeding. From a national point of view, horse breeding is desirable both for the Army and for some agricultural purposes. It is also possible that we will be able to export horses to large areas in Asia. It has been found by experiment that horse breeding can take place very successfully in India. In fact, even during the past few years, foreign horses have almost been pushed out.

The Commander-in-Chief spoke to me on this subject and pointed out the importance of horse breeding from the point of view of the Army. It is true that we are mechanising the Army rapidly but, nevertheless, he said horse breeding was essential in future and more specially before mechanisation was quite complete and we were ourselves manufacturing everything needed for us. Previously the Army itself maintained horse breeding, but this was put an end to by the War. Therefore Cariappa asked me to encourage the National Horse Breeding Society of India which is doing good work. This Society was established a few years ago, chiefly, I think, as a result of an enquiry which K.M. Munshi instituted in 1938 when he was a Minister of the Bombay Government.² The object of that enquiry was to push out foreign horses from Indian racing. That result has been largely achieved and it has been shown that the best and thorough-bred horses can be bred in India. There has been a great improvement in the quality of Indian horses in recent years because of this deliberate attempt at horse breeding by this Society which has got studs in various parts of the country but chiefly in the Bombay Presidency.

No one of course has or can have any objection to the encouragement of horse breeding in India. But, in existing circumstances, it is intimately tied up with horse-racing because racing provides a market for the best types of thoroughbreds. Racing as such also can hardly be objected to. The objection comes because of its association with gambling.

1. File No. 40(211)/51-PMS.
2. K.M. Munshi, as Home Minister, had in fact agreed in 1937 to renew the license of the Royal Western India Turf Club on the condition that 55% of its membership was thrown open to Indians. Reforms were introduced to Indianise turf clubs, encourage development of indigenous breeds and reduce dependence on foreign jockeys and horses.

The question thus arises whether we can maintain racing and put down gambling connected with it. It is not clear how this can be done because the heavy expenses of keeping horses and organising racing are met by certain charges and profits made on the totalizator. For the present, therefore, there does not appear to be any obvious way of getting racing going on without permitting gambling on it. If racing goes then automatically horse breeding suffers greatly, unless heavy subsidy is given by the State for the horses. This is unlikely. At the present moment various provinces have different approaches to this problem. West Bengal and U.P. are favourable to racing and in fact rather support it, including the betting. Bombay and Madras have announced their policy of putting an end to all gambling and thereby to racing, and it would be desirable to have a certain unified policy for the whole of India in regard to this matter.

Apart from the needs of Army and agriculture, horse breeding is necessary for the supply of horses to institutes like the Haffkine Institute³ in Bombay, the King Institute⁴ in Madras etc., who require several hundred horses yearly for the manufacture of protective sera. Previously they used to import horses from abroad and they would have to do this again if horse breeding ceases in India.

I might mention that the Governor General is the Patron-in-Chief of the National Horse Breeding and Show Society of India. Also that the Governor General is continuing to give cups for horse-racing. I am told that the Government of Bombay get a revenue of over Rs one and a half crores per annum from racing.

The question for us to consider is whether we should sacrifice the various advantages we are getting now from the existing system in order to put an end to racing with its accompaniment of some gambling. I have seen the figures of betting on the Bombay and Poona race courses. I was surprised to notice that the number of people who attended were relatively small. Average figures for the last three years per day of racing were, for the first enclosure, 9,605, and for the second enclosure, 12,288. The actual betting figures are also relatively small. It is doubtful whether we will cure the people of gambling by merely preventing them from attending races. The amount of gambling on race courses is a very small fraction of the gambling that goes on in other ways in the city of Bombay or elsewhere. The difference is that the race course gambling is regulated and controlled; the other and far greater part is illegal, unregulated and no revenues are derived from it. Probably we shall not reduce gambling at all by putting an end to racing but will only drive it into other and illegal channels.

3. Established in 1896 by Dr Haffkine as a plague research laboratory, it is one of the biggest research and manufacturing units of viral vaccines, sera, anti-toxins and other biological products in Asia. It also trains scientists for post-graduate degrees.
4. The King Institute of Preventive Medicine was founded in 1905. Originally meant to serve as a vaccine lymph depot of Madras Province, it developed into a leading centre for research, manufacture of vaccines and public health teaching.

In the balance, therefore, I really doubt the desirability of taking any step now which would put an end to racing. This would affect the whole Indian horse breeding industry which has an investment of many crores and compel us to import horses from abroad. From the defence point of view, it will rather weaken us as it will make us dependent on others.

I have mentioned some considerations. There are of course many more. But I should like you to think about this matter. I think that the Governor General more or less agrees with the viewpoint I have expressed above. The question to be considered by us is, whether horse breeding etc., including racing, should not be a Central subject like lotteries. This would bring about a unified policy.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja¹

New Delhi
June 2, 1949

My dear Premier,²

I understand that the Madras Government have passed some orders against horse-racing or perhaps against betting in horse-racing. I believe the Bombay Government is also thinking along these lines.

This raises some rather important issues. Of course, we are not interested in betting or gambling and the more we limit this the better. But we are very much interested in horse breeding. Previously there was no organised effort at horse breeding in India. But for the last ten years or so, an effort has been made and has succeeded remarkably. We have driven out foreign horses from India and have bred very fine, thorough-bred horses here. We are specially interested in this, as horses are required for the Army as well as for some of our research institutes like the Haffkine Institute in Bombay and the King Institute in Madras. Our Army authorities are particularly anxious to have a reserve of good horses to draw upon. If they cannot get Indian horses, they will have to import them.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. P.S. Kumaraswami Raja (1898-1957); Congressman of Madras; president of several cooperative banks; became member of the Central Legislative Assembly, 1934, and of the Madras Legislative Assembly, 1937; Minister for Agriculture, Government of Madras, 1946-February 1947, and Chief Minister, 1949-52; Governor of Orissa, 1954-56.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

It is thus necessary from the national point of view to encourage horse breeding. Thus far, this horse breeding has depended a great deal on the market provided by racing and it has built up a big business worth many crores of rupees. If racing goes, horse breeding also goes and we shall have to import horses from abroad for our army and other purposes. Racing, it appears, depends very largely on the present system of betting by totalizators. The only other method is large subsidies from the State, which it is hardly possible to give in the present circumstances.

The question before us, therefore, is whether it is desirable or worthwhile to put an end to betting in horse racing and at the same time to put an end to horse breeding in India on an organised scale. In some provinces, like Bengal and U.P., racing is actually encouraged by the provincial governments. There is thus no uniformity in India on this subject. The Governor General continues to present cups for horse-racing.

I feel that it would be unwise for us to take any step which might affect our horse breeding at this stage and at the same time to lose such revenues as we are getting from this business. We have too many calls upon us for us to add to our burdens. I should like you and your Government to consider this matter. I have written on these lines also to the Bombay Premier.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
June 3, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd June about horse-racing. When I suggested that the subject might be a Central subject, I did not intend that any revenues derived from it should accrue to the Centre. I was only thinking in terms of Central legislation.

In any event that letter has gone now to Vallabhbhai and I have sent a copy to Kher. I shall await their reactions.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

5. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi
19 June 1949

My dear Premier,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th June in regard to horse-racing in the Bombay Province.

I have carefully considered what you have written in your letter. I have discussed this matter also with Shri K.M. Munshi who was partly instrumental in making some changes in Bombay when he was Home Minister in the first Congress Ministry.

From the facts that have been brought to my notice, the policy adopted by the Bombay Government in the late thirties was remarkably successful in promoting horse breeding in India and keeping out import of foreign horses. Further it helped greatly in minimising a great deal of illegal betting by having totalizators at the races. In other words, that policy was a marked success from both these points of view. A policy that has succeeded and that is showing results should not be easily abandoned at any time, more specially, at a time when we have to face very difficult problems in other spheres of national life. The attempted change means an upsetting of some things and a diversion of national energy and time and money to relatively unimportant matters when far more important matters demand that time, energy and money.

There is a certain practical aspect of this question which can be considered objectively and dispassionately from the point of view of the practical gains or losses consequent on any policy being adopted. There is also another aspect which I think is worthy of consideration. That is an aspect of the State making inroads into the personal liberty of the individual.

So far as the practical aspect is concerned, it seems to me clear that the immediate effect of any upsetting of the existing policy would certainly lead to a discouragement of horse breeding, whatever the long distance consequences might be. The National Horse Breeding and Show Society of India has shown good results in this respect during the fairly short period of its existence. It would be affected by any change and may have seriously to curtail its activities. It may be that the Army or the civil government might undertake horse breeding but that obviously would be a costly business, casting an additional burden on the nation's finances. Even so the incentive for improving the breed which comes from horse-racing would not be there. In recent years it has been shown with remarkable success that India can breed the best type of horses. This fact was not admitted previously. Undoubtedly if racing becomes a third-rate affair in India or ceases, then certain inducements to produce the first quality of thoroughbreds would be lacking and

the quality would go down. I think it is true that racing depends a good deal at the present moment on betting being associated with it. If betting goes, then racing also suffers greatly. The betting can of course be regulated in a variety of ways to prevent this mischief spreading.

You refer in your letter to ancient India. As a matter of fact, there is a view of history that India's repeated conquest by northern tribes was due to the fact that India did not possess as good horses and breeding grounds as Central Asia did. Horses in those days made a great difference to the army.

I do not know that we can compare ourselves in this matter with a country like Arabia. We are completely different and Arabia is completely backward. In Australia horse breeding takes place because the horse is the principal animal used on the farm. At the same time there is racing and betting there. I do not know about the conditions in U.S.A. except that horse breeding suffered very greatly because of technical advances and it is a problem there how to encourage it.

I am unable to understand your statement that in spite of the encouragement given to the breeding of Indian horses by the Bombay Congress Ministry in the late thirties, the industry has not established itself. My own information is that during this brief period the industry has made remarkable progress. The best of industries, however, may fail if circumstances become adverse.

Among the practical considerations to be borne in mind are the strongly expressed view of the Army authorities that their need for horses necessitates an encouragement of horse breeding and its corollary that the present arrangements should not be interfered with radically. Another practical consideration is the revenue derived from it, which is fairly considerable. At a time of financial stringency one has to think very carefully of giving up an established revenue. That simply means having to cast the burden on some other people who will naturally resent it, or curtailing our expenditure on some essential social service.

From such accounts as I have seen, I gather that the people affected by organised racing and betting are very limited. There is illegal betting which is a little difficult to tackle. The way the Congress Ministry of Bombay tackled it in the past was by regulating betting through the totalizator. I understand that this led to a great improvement and a great diminution of illegal betting. From a social point of view this was an undiluted gain.

There is weight in the argument that an evil should not be encouraged even though it might be revenue-producing for the government. That may be perfectly true. But human frailties are not usually got rid of by legislation. The modern approach is somewhat different. What happens often enough is that when a direct attempt is made by legislation to put down what is considered an evil, this takes more serious and dangerous forms and thus the final result is even worse.

Then there is the wholly different approach to the question of what might be called moral legislation by the government. There is a view, strongly held, that a government should avoid as far as possible this type of legislation unless it is

considered absolutely necessary. Opinions differ about what is moral and what is not even among the best of us. If a government starts interfering in this way by law, it is entering a dangerous field. One government may have one standard or measure of morals, another government another standard. Between various governments the unhappy citizen will not know where he stands and what he can do and what he cannot. Fundamentally moral standards can only be improved by the educational and like processes aided now and then by the law. A puritanical approach to human problems is bad enough when indulged in by individuals. It is indefinitely worse when a government begins to function in that way.

We have today to contend against very grave evils. To mention some of them, there is black-marketing, there is anti-social activity of industrial groups, the evasion of taxes, the making of illegal profits; also anti-social activities of people like the communists and the like. We try to face these evils with very moderate success. We have the evil of poverty and unemployment and we tackle it bravely again with very, very moderate success. Is betting on the race course a greater evil than black-marketing? I do not think so. It is far more important for us to tackle these major evils than to waste our energy on minor and rather personal failings of individuals. A social evil affecting the community is a more important thing than a personal failing affecting an individual.

I have mentioned to you in another context a growing apprehension among some people about what appears to be the desire of the Bombay Government to improve private morals by legislation.² These attempts have not succeeded in other countries in the past and there is little reason to hope that they will succeed here. Meanwhile they irritate and annoy large numbers of people and make Government disliked. There is also the argument, which has some weight, about the interference in the personal liberty of the individual. That is a precious inheritance and we are too apt today in this and other fields to interfere with it.

I have written to you at some length on this subject previously, and now because the issues involved are rather important and a great many people, apart from me, have been disturbed by recent developments, it is for your Government to decide its policy in its own sphere of provincial autonomy. But you will appreciate that the force of any such legislation will be far less if other provinces pursue a different policy. It is clear that some other provinces intend doing so. It will be asked by people why a thing is evil at one place and not so in another. It is, therefore, desirable for a certain uniformity in our approach.

2. The Bombay Prevention of Gambling Act of 1887 was amended with a view to limiting the circulation of literature on horse races to control betting. Prohibition was introduced in the Bombay Province from 15 June 1949.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

If you wish to discuss this and allied matters, a suitable time to do so might be when you come here to meet the other premiers in the third or fourth week of July.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

I. The Economy
iii. Industry

1. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
May 12, 1949

My dear Matthai,

I intended speaking or writing to you about Trone,² an American engineer now in China, whom I have asked our Ambassador in Nanking to invite to India for three months or so. I discussed this matter with Panikkar when he was here. Immediately after I went away to England.

From our Ambassador and from a number of other people I have had some accounts about Trone. From all these accounts I have gathered that he is a very outstanding man indeed. As an employee of the U.S. General Electric Company, he was lent to Soviet Russia during their first five-year plan and he did an outstanding piece of work there. Later the Chinese Government managed to secure his services and he is very highly spoken of by foreigners and the Chinese in China. Owing to recent upheavals, his future in China became rather doubtful, as the Government he was serving was vanishing away. As a matter of fact the Chinese communists sent a message by radio to him saying that they would gladly keep him. He was thinking of going back to America where he was wanted.

I was so impressed by the accounts I had about him in regard to general planning, his special subject being electrical engineering, that I thought it would be desirable for him to come here for about three months and advise us. I asked Panikkar therefore to invite him to do so. I have heard from Panikkar that he is likely to come here in August. I have not had any details about terms etc. which are coming by letter. Generally I had told Panikkar that we pay his fare to India and continue paying the salary he was getting in China for the three months he was here. As soon as I get Panikkar's letter, I shall send you a copy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 26(94)/49-PMS.
2. S.A. Trone.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

2. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
May 19, 1949

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

I am enquiring into the Sind Valley project.² I was surprised to find from the States Ministry that they were waiting for some particulars from your Government. I am sure that at least part of the delay has been on this side. However, please expedite this matter on your side and I shall see to it that it gets through here. I attach great importance to this project.

I have met Rosen³ and had a good talk with him. There can be no doubt whatever that Kashmir has great riches in its soil. If we are wise enough, we can have it for the good of the people of Kashmir and humanity. We have to proceed a little cautiously with this matter. I shall see Rosen again on my return from Dehra Dun and I have asked him for more particulars. My difficulty is that we do not know much about Rosen.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(141)/49-PMS.
2. The project included the construction of a canal, ten miles long and a power house with a total generating capacity of 15,000 kilowatts.
3. There was a proposal for exploration of petroleum in Jammu and Kashmir by David Rosen, an American.

3. To Gulzari Lal Nanda¹

New Delhi
May 25, 1949

My dear Gulzari Lal,²

Thank you for sending me the pamphlet.

I understand that there was some talk of the I.N.T.U.C. joining up with the American Federation of Labour and the British T.U.C. in a projected World

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Nanda was a trade union leader and a Minister in the Government of Bombay at this time.

Federation of Trade Unions. I spoke to Harihar Nath Shastri³ about this this evening. He said that there was some talk, but no decisions had been arrived at.

I think it will be rather premature for the I.N.T.U.C. to line up with any new bloc of trade unions in Europe and America. It is safer for us to avoid such entanglements and await developments. I do not want it to appear that we are just camp-followers of the Anglo-Americans in this or other matters. Of course, we should keep friendly relations with them. Harihar Nath agreed with me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

3. Shastri was President of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, 1947-49.

4. Proposal for an Alloy Steel Plant¹

I have seen your note dated 28th May about the proposals of Dr N.D. Chopra, Chairman of Darwins Ltd, Sheffield.

I discussed this matter as well as other matters with Dr Chopra in London but I have little knowledge about the details. I found, however, from various sources that Dr Chopra is a man of very special ability. The mere fact that he has become Chairman of Darwins and made that a success proves this. He is supposed to be one of the few persons who are real experts in the manufacture of high-class steel—special alloy steels. These are not made here at present at the Tata's or elsewhere and probably there are only a limited number of persons available who are capable of making them.

Dr Chopra, I believe, is anxious to do something for India, although his general political views are rather vague. I think it would be desirable to encourage him in some undertaking in India. I presume that the manufacture of alloy steels or special alloy steels in India is necessary. I doubt if it can be undertaken by the Tatas without outside help. I doubt also if Dr Chopra can easily be yoked together with the Tatas or any other firm. If he is to work at all here, he will have to be given independent charge. I found in England that he was popular with the workers as well as with his co-directors.

If a big plant is to be set up here for the manufacture of special alloy steels, would it not be desirable to have a pilot plant first and then develop it? Anyway, I hope this matter will be proceeded with expeditiously and conclusions arrived at.

1. Note to the Minister for Industry and Supply, 30 May 1949. File No. 17(140)/49-PMS.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

5. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
June 1, 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,²

Mahtab, the Premier of Orissa, has written to me about the question of location of the steel plant or plants. I give below the quotation from his letter....³

I have not gone deeply into this matter, but I am inclined to agree with Mahtab that the opinion of experts should prevail and Orissa should be chosen for the location of the steel plant, in case there is only one steel plant. I suppose in any event you will begin with one plant. Even for some other reasons too I imagine that Orissa is suitable.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(144)/49-PMS. Extracts.
2. Central Minister for Industry and Supply at this time.
3. H.K. Mahtab had requested Nehru to go by the opinion of experts that Orissa would be the best place to set up a steel plant in India.

6. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
June 3, 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

I have received a letter from Keshava Deva Malaviya, Minister for Development in the United Provinces, about textile goods. As he says he has sent you a copy of that letter, I need not do so.

I cannot say anything about the proposals he makes. But the situation he depicts is very unsatisfactory. Obviously we shall have great difficulties if the cloth the mills manufacture is not liked by the public and is therefore not purchased. If unsold stocks mount up, a huge amount of money is locked up in them and the flow of cloth, production and sale, is affected. It does seem to me necessary that production of cloth should be controlled by us, so that only necessary counts and articles,

1. File No. 26(46)/48-PMS.

which are easily consumable, should be produced. Also it is necessary that we should encourage handloom industry instead of putting difficulties in its way. I hope you are giving thought to these matters. If you like, we can have a discussion in the Cabinet, whenever you are ready for it.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Cotton Cloth and Yarn Control Order was imposed in June 1943 to make cloth available at suitable prices to the consumer. Decontrol was tried in April 1948 to encourage the industry but prices rose sharply. After the textile conference of July 1948, premiers and ministers of provinces and States favoured partial control. The mills, however, opposed controls. The Government ultimately lifted them in September 1949.

7. Mineral Survey of Orissa¹

Two-three days ago I received a letter from the Premier of Orissa enclosing a report from the American Mineral Attache, Corry,² a copy of which the American Ambassador³ had sent direct to the Orissa Premier. The American Ambassador went to Orissa some months ago and toured about with the Governor there. Subsequently he sent his Mineral Attache. The report that has been sent to us—I do not know if you have seen it; if not, please get a copy from Pai⁴—contained a proposal for a mineral survey of Orissa jointly undertaken by us with American help. The cost of it also was to be jointly borne. On the whole the proposal seems attractive to me. I have sent it on to the Economic Committee of the Cabinet.

2. But what surprised me was the fact that the American Mineral Attache went all over Orissa prospecting and surveying without the knowledge of the Orissa Government. This is very extraordinary. They only knew about him when they received his report. I do not know what we can do about this matter. I should not

1. Note to the Secretary General, Ministry of External Affairs, 3 June 1949. File No. 44-10/49-AMS, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. Andrew Vincent Corry (b.1904); Mineral Attache, American Embassies in India, Pakistan, Burma and Sri Lanka and legation in Nepal.
3. Loy Wesley Henderson.
4. A.V. Pai was Principal Private Secretary to Nehru.

like to protest to the American Embassy about this particular matter because they have put forward what appears a good proposal. But I hope that we should not allow this kind of thing to happen. If an American surveyor goes, he should be accompanied by an Indian geologist. In any way we should know all about it.

8. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
June 3, 1949

My dear Matthai,

I spoke to you the other day about Rosen's plan for Kashmir. I hope you saw the papers and have also talked to Rosen.

The other day I received a letter from the Premier of Orissa, enclosing a copy of a report from Corry, Mineral Attaché of the American Embassy here. In this report certain proposals were made for the mineral survey of Orissa with the help of American experts and students, the cost being shared between India and America. I sent a copy of this to your Economic Committee. In case you have not seen it yet, I enclose a copy.

One minor matter that arises in this connection is how Corry could go about surveying in Orissa without the knowledge of the Orissa Government. It was not proper for him to do so. However, that is a matter apart. The proposal itself seems to me to be rather attractive.

My mind has been rather full of both these proposals as well as possibly something else that we might do to speed up things in India. Bhatnagar,² Secretary of our Department of Scientific Research, writes to me suggesting some kind of an overall organisation for the development of India. He suggests that this should facilitate our getting foreign help, both financial and expert. I am not quite clear what he means and how this can be done.

For the present I am thinking what we can do immediately in regard to the two proposals mentioned above, Rosen's and Corry's. I should like to do something about Kashmir. Can we work out some schemes of exploration, more especially of petroleum and maybe of some other minerals? We need not think in very big terms at present. Possibly, with the information we already have from previous reports, we might be able to achieve some results fairly rapidly. How can this be done? Can we form a company or corporation for this purpose with entirely Indian

1. File No. 17(141)/49-PMS.
2. Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar.

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capital, government and private? I feel inclined to associate Rosen with this venture, subject of course to such conditions as you might approve of. We hope to get much fuller information about Rosen in a few days' time.

I should like you to think about this so that we might do something before you leave for England.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
June 4, 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

I visited the Cottage Industries Emporium yesterday and liked it. I think it is well organised and ought to bear good results.

I was told that you intended opening some kind of shops or show-rooms in three places abroad. I forget the names of these three places except that one was Sydney in Australia. I am all in favour of your opening these show-rooms and shops abroad for this purpose. But I should have thought that Sydney was one of the last places to be chosen. We are not going to have much of a market there and it is very far. Obviously the first place is New York. Paris will be another good place. I should concentrate on New York first. London has already got some such thing.

It is the intention of External Affairs to try to furnish our embassies abroad, as far as possible, with Indian fabrics and Indian goods. We are trying to make a list of the articles required. We should like to have a good many Kashmir articles which are more specially demanded and admired abroad. We should also like to have other stuffs from various parts of India. In this work we hope to have the assistance and cooperation of your Cottage Industries Emporium.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 26(41)/48-PMS.

10. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

Our High Commissioner in London sent to me a copy of the telegram you sent to him on the 1st of June asking him to use his contacts at high level to secure for us all our requirements of half a million tons of fertilizers from the U.K. Of course he can do that and might succeed. But this business of going to high levels involves delicate matters and often leads to difficulties. A similar request was made by our Defence Ministry to him to buy whisky for the Army. He went straight to Stafford Cripps and other ministers and managed to get it. With the result, all kinds of questions were asked in the Assembly and insinuations made. It is impossible for him or for us to disclose the names of British ministers in this transaction, because that would be unfair and improper. The result is that full facts cannot be divulged and people begin to suspect that something underhand has been done. That is not fair to him or to us.

In the present matter, apparently, some negotiations have been going on and they have not wholly succeeded. And now you ask the High Commissioner to intervene, without even much knowledge of the background of what has happened. It may be said later that the High Commissioner interferes unnecessarily.

I should like you, therefore, to consider all this and clear everything up between you and the Industries Ministry to avoid future complications. Please let me know what you propose to do and send fuller information to Krishna Menon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(69)/48-PMS.

11. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1949

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

We have gone very deeply into the proposals which David Rosen had made about the exploration in Jammu and Kashmir. I have arranged for his meeting our principal

1. File No. 17(141)/49-PMS.

ministers concerned in this matter, including our Finance Minister, our Transport Minister and Ministers for Industry and Supply, and Works, Mines and Power. The Secretary General, Bajpai, has also had a talk with him, and the States Ministry. In addition to this, we have enquired into his status and past career from our representatives in America and we have received fairly full information. This information leads to the conclusion that Rosen is rather an adventurous type of person, who has sometimes promoted companies. He has not worked in a big way anywhere and has been chiefly connected with the liquor trade in America. He came away from America leaving a certain number of debts behind and his creditors are waiting for his return. All this inevitably leads us to the conclusion that we cannot tie ourselves up with him.

Independently of him, we have considered the problem of exploration in Kashmir and have consulted our experts. We feel that we must go ahead with this, though perhaps the beginnings may be small. We are now exploring the method of doing this. At a slightly later stage, when our ideas are a little cleared up about the method, we should like to consult you or your representatives.

Meanwhile we are informing Rosen that we cannot accept his proposal. But we hope to do something ourselves, and if he is of help in that, we shall avail ourselves of him.

Rosen has a number of interesting papers about this matter. How did he get them? Did your Government give them to him? It would be desirable to get them back from him, but I do not quite know how to do so. There is nothing very important about these papers and they are all, I think, copies. I suppose you have the originals.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. Closure of Industrial Units¹

During the last two or three months a number of mills have closed down and some are still being closed down. I understand that nine such mills have been or are

1. Note to the Members of the Economic Committee, 18 June 1949. File No. 26(81)/49-PMS.

in the process of being closed down. This involves not only a lessening of production but also an increase in unemployment of organised workers. The figure of such unemployed is said to be about 100,000.

2. I am told that in regard to the Sholapur Mill an enquiry report has stated that there has been gross mismanagement.

3. In Dalmianagar notice of closing down the cement factory and the *vanaspatti* factory has also been given.

4. A somewhat similar situation in the jute industry has been met in a different way by certain adjustments so that the burden may be spread out.

5. We have during the past year or more laid great stress on more and more production. We have appealed to the employers and the employees alike to help in this campaign for greater production. Obviously this closing down of mills puts an end to any such attempt at greater production. It will produce an impression that we attach no importance to more production now or that we are helpless in the face of superior economic or other forces. In either event the impression is very bad and will produce the very psychology we have been fighting against.

6. We had appealed for a period of truce in industrial disputes in order to encourage production. It might be said that there was a large measure of cooperation in this matter. Are we to presume now that the truce period is over because of this action of certain employers? If labour feels this way, then they will not feel themselves bound in any manner by their promise to keep the truce even to the extent they have done. All this raises important and difficult issues which can hardly be ignored. If this closing down is inevitable, a certain involuntary unemployment is caused. What is Government's position in regard to this involuntary unemployment? Are we in any sense responsible for the situation thus created?

7. Food prices continue to be high and middle class elements in the population are hard hit. With increase in the unemployment among organised workers the pressure may well become greater than is bearable and inevitably trouble might ensue.

8. This is a matter for the earnest consideration of the Economic Committee. Is this closing down of the mills entirely the result of economic forces beyond our control or is it due to any Government policy? Or is it due to an attempt on the part of some employers to bring pressure on Government to change its policy? As it happens that policy, thus far, has been on the whole favourable to the employer classes and Government have in most matters accepted their advice. It is true that Government do not function just as agents of these classes and perhaps a certain independence on the part of Government in regard to its policy is not found agreeable by the bigger industrial and financial interests concerned. One is driven to the conclusion that there is a certain attempt being made, consciously or semi-consciously, to create difficulties for the Government so as to induce it to change its policy.

9. In regard to the closing down of mills and factories, is it desirable to consider the question of Government assuming powers to take over such mills or factories in the interests of production and avoidance of unemployment? Whether we take any over or not is a question for individual and separate consideration. But it is possible that the mere assumption of power to do so may have a certain salutary effect.

10. I shall be grateful if the Economic Committee will consider these matters.

13. S.A. Trone and His Visit¹

Mr S.A. Trone, an eminent American engineer, has been invited by the Government of India to come here for three months to begin with to advise us about our development projects and plans. He is due to arrive here on August 1st. Our Ambassador in Nanking, in accordance with whose advise Mr Trone was invited, has sent us certain details about him which may be of interest to the Members of the Economic Committee. These details are given below. In order to take full advantage of Mr Trone's visit here, each ministry concerned might prepare a note for him and be prepared to discuss its plans. It would not be worthwhile to discuss details with him but rather the overall approach to our problems and the principal projects in hand. He is a man of vast experience and, from all accounts, of exceptional ability. We asked our Embassy in the U.S.A. to make enquiries about him and we are informed that he was held in high esteem in the U.S.A. for his ability and experience.

2. I do not want Mr Trone's time to be spent in vague talks. I should like the first few days or so to be spent in general discussions and then for him to be allotted some specific work.

3. I shall be grateful if the Economic Committee considers this matter and gives some general directions as to what preparations should be made for him by the various ministries and departments.

Before the Russian Revolution Mr Trone was the Managing Director of the Russian General Electric Company—an affiliated company of the American General Electric Company and of the German Allgemeine Elektrizitätsgesellschaft. At that time he built electric power and industrial developments in widely scattered

1. Note to the Members of the Economic Committee, 20 June 1949. File No. 26(94)/49-PMS.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

parts of Russia, as for instance in the oil fields in Baku, power developments in Poland, in the Amur Valley, in Vladivostok etc. During that period his work was mainly connected with power, coal mining and industrial developments.

Towards the end of 1916 Mr Trone returned to Russia on the invitation of the old Russian Government in connection with a projected big hydroelectric scheme. He was in Russia during the 1917 Revolution and was in Petrograd, Moscow, Kharkov, etc., and he was in close contact with the revolutionary leaders in Russia.

From 1919 he spent some years doing engineering work in Japan and afterwards was the chief representative of the engineering interests of the American General Electric Company in Germany, Austria, Italy and France.

In the middle-twenties Mr Trone returned to the U.S.S.R. and was associated with the power and industrial development schemes, particularly in the period of the first Five Year Plan, which work he headed for the General Electric Company. He was closely connected with all aspects of the preparation and execution of the first Five Year Plan—especially, it was his contribution to bring the American administrative and industrial experience to the U.S.S.R. to build up its industries at the time.

He was again in Russia in 1945 as a member of the American Delegation to the Allied Commission on Reparations.

In 1943 Mr Trone came out to China as Industrial Adviser to the Chinese Government. Technically he is even now the adviser of the Executive Yuan (Cabinet) and the Central Bank of China. His main work in China has been to examine all Government programmes of industrialisation, to study, analyse and report on existing industries and generally to advise the Government on matters of development. It will be seen that Mr Trone has close experience of planned industry all over the world, especially of planning on a national scale in two countries where planning has been successful, viz., Russia and Japan.

His value to us will mainly be in checking up our programmes and helping to avoid pitfalls, which planning in every country had to face.

I may add from my personal experience that Mr Trone is a person of the highest integrity and a social thinker of great eminence, who has enjoyed the friendship of such men as Leon Trotsky and Bukharin and worked at one time in close association with Lenin himself.

1

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION
II. Education and Culture

1. A Painting of Mahatma Gandhi¹

I do not know if our High Commissioner in London has reported to you yet about the purchase, on our behalf, of a large painting by Topolski,² a well-known artist. This painting depicts the death of Mahatmaji in a symbolic way, with all Asia mourning. It is a huge canvas about twelve feet by eight feet. Experts thought highly about it and Lord and Lady Mountbatten told me in October last that it was a magnificent painting which must go to India. At that time I enquired about the price. The High Commissioner did not tell me the exact price but said it was rather fanciful and so I left it at that. Later, after my return to India I again pressed the High Commissioner to find out what the price was. He said that the normal price fixed for it was about £3,000 and it was quite possible to get that price from America for the picture. Topolski was, however, very keen that the picture should come to India and, after a great deal of talk with the High Commissioner, he agreed at a price of £750 which roughly is between ten and eleven thousand rupees. Everyone agreed that this price was very fair, in fact very low, and I was accused of exploiting the artist who could have got three times that price easily.

2. I met Topolski who is a very bright youngish man and he was very keen that this canvas of his should come to India. He suggested that he should come to India to supervise its hanging and possibly to put some finishing touches to it after its transit from London. I did not encourage him in this idea. The picture will come naturally by boat.

1. Note to the Ministry of Education, 13 May 1949. File No. 2(152)/48-PMS.
2. Feliks Topolski (b. 1907); Polish artist settled in England.

2. To the Governors of Provinces¹

New Delhi
May 19, 1949

My dear Governor,

Some time ago we issued instructions to all our ambassadors and ministers abroad

1. J.N. Collection. Also available in File No. 6(47)-G-I/49, M.E.A., N.A.I.

gradually to make our embassies more and more representative of India. It is the custom among all foreign embassies in Delhi or elsewhere to make them representative, in as many ways as possible, of their respective countries. Thus the U.K. High Commissioner in New Delhi has striven to convert his embassy into a bit of England. The French Ambassador likewise wants a bit of France here. The Italian Embassy gives a flavour of Italy and so on.

It is right and desirable, therefore, and perhaps even more so than in the case of other embassies, that our Indian embassies abroad should represent not only Indian arts and crafts but also, to some extent, the artistic and cultural life of India. This can only be done to a limited extent and the change-over cannot be made suddenly, partly for financial reasons. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that a continuing attempt should be made in this direction and this attempt should not be reversed by succeeding ambassadors. Curtains, cushion covers, pictures, carpets as a rule, and so many other things should represent India. Much would depend, inevitably, on the personal taste of the ambassador, but generally speaking, the bend should be towards giving our embassy abroad an Indian atmosphere. There are ever so many articles which are artistic, beautiful and typical of India and which should be displayed in our embassies and legations. Kashmir itself provides any number of these, but every part of India has some special art or craft, for which it is famous.

This same principle should, I think, be applied to our Government Houses in India. These Government Houses have, in the past, been representative much more of England than of India. Part of these arrangements will of course continue, but it is always possible to change the inner decoration without much difficulty.

I do not suggest any large expenditure of money, as money is scarce. But I do suggest that in future, purchases for Government House should be largely confined to Indian-made articles, and more especially, Indian arts and crafts. Normally each Government House should represent the arts and crafts and manufactures of that province. But of course it can always go outside the area of the province. Kashmir has a variety of treasures of this type which can now be easily obtained.

Some of the Rulers of Indian States used to encourage old Indian craftsmanship. But for them this might well have died off. Now a change is coming over the States and it is rather doubtful if those centres will be able to continue as homes of Indian arts and crafts. It becomes all the more necessary therefore that our Government Houses should pay more attention to encouraging our craftsmanship and artistic talent.

Paintings are usually expensive and seldom good. But it is always possible to obtain very good enlargements of photographs of famous architectural monuments in India. Indian architecture is typical and symbolic of the country and these pictures

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

are very effective in any house. If any Government House desires sets of these pictures, I am sure our Department of Archaeology would gladly help them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Statues of Mahatma Gandhi¹

Please see the attached letter from the Governor General.² I am inclined to agree with him. Personally I am entirely against the putting up of these statues of Mahatma Gandhi. They are likely to be very second-rate, more especially when small organisations put them up without any appreciation of art or adequate resources. I think you might write to the High Commissioner³ on these lines.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 25 May 1949. File No. 2(403)/49-PMS.
2. Referring to a proposal of the Indian Welfare Association of Sri Lanka to put up a statue of Mahatma Gandhi in Colombo, Rajagopalachari wrote to Nehru on 25 May that the initiative and honour of raising memorials for Mahatma Gandhi in a foreign country should belong to the government and large public bodies of the place concerned, rather than to the Indian residents of the place.
3. V.V. Giri, High Commissioner of India in Sri Lanka.

4. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi
June 1, 1949

My dear Kher,

I read in some newspaper the other day that a person was fined somewhere in the Bombay Presidency for kissing his wife in public. This was taken to be indecorous behaviour.

1. J.N. Collection.

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I do not know all the facts of course and I am only proceeding from a newspaper report. I must confess that I was surprised to read this and feel that this was neither indecorous behaviour nor has the State any right to interfere in such matters. I am afraid this kind of thing will not add to our reputation and will lead people to think that we are bent on interfering with the most innocent pleasures. As I told you, I think, some people in London casually and rather jokingly mentioned to me that the Bombay Government is bent on suppressing the amusements of the people and on reforming them by law.

About horse-racing, I might mention to you that the Governor General is continuing the practice of presenting a Governor General's Cup for some of the principal races.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
2 June 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

I have almost decided to go to Ladakh early next month. I am going there on the occasion of the big annual fair at the Hemis Gompa monastery,² which is the biggest monastery in Ladakh. There will be a large collection of people there from surrounding territories, including Tibet and possibly Central Asia. It is not easy to get there and it involves some trekking in high mountain altitudes.

Somebody suggested to me that it would be worthwhile to take the Buddha relics to this place on that occasion. The Lamas from Ladakh mentioned this to me also. I am not at all sure that this is feasible, as the way is difficult, and I should not like to leave them there. But I should like you to consider this matter and advise me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(275)/48-PMS.

2. The Hemis Gompa, forty-four kilometres from Leh, was built by Chapgon Gyalshas and is known for its summer festivals.

6. To Perin Captain¹

New Delhi
June 4, 1949

My dear Perin,²

I am distressed to learn that you have been very ill. I am glad, however, that you are getting better now. You have no business to be ill.

You accuse me often of not working hard for Hindustani. You do not seem to realise that Hindustani happens to be my language and it is a matter of the most vital concern to me as to what language grows up in this country. I have given more thought to this matter and have worked harder for it than for most other things which I am dealing with. You can and should work in your own way. That cannot be my way, because I have to function in a different sphere and I know the powerful forces at work. For the last year and a half and more we have had to face enormous difficulties.

If I may say so, I know more about the language question and especially about Hindustani and Hindi and Urdu than you do. I do not know what final decisions might be taken. But I feel that whatever the decisions might be, the language will ultimately be moulded by the people. It is almost impossible for us to lay down that everything should be done in both scripts, Devanagari and Urdu. Physically, that is exceedingly difficult, because in effect it means not only those two scripts but English and, in most provinces, another script. What seems to me important is that the content of the language should be simple and widely understood and, secondly, that the Urdu script and language should be preserved and encouraged. It is not possible to ask children to learn both scripts except on a voluntary basis. I should not be surprised if some years later the Roman script is much more in use in India than it is today.

I hope you will get well soon and continue your good work.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji.

7. To Nargis Captain¹

New Delhi

June 4, 1949

My dear Nuri,²

Thank you for your letter of the 1st June. As suggested by you, I have written a letter to Perin and I enclose a copy of it.³ I am afraid in her enthusiasm she has not got a full grasp of the problems that encompass us, among them being the language problem. Seth Govinddas and company do not make very much difference. There are other and much more powerful forces and urges of vast numbers of people that have come into play. I have been born and lived in the real Hindustani-speaking area and I know what I have to contend against.

I do not myself see how we can put the Sanskrit inscription on the seal in the Urdu script. It would neither be artistic nor otherwise fitting.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji.
3. See the preceding item.

8. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi

June 5, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

I have just received your letter of the 5th June about some kind of moral instruction in our schools and colleges.² It is perfectly true that there is a hiatus today. But I do not myself see how it can be filled by your proposal being given effect to. The proposal is rather vague. A person who is meant to influence youth must have

1. File No. 40(76)/49-PMS.
2. Rajagopalachari had suggested that "well-chosen representatives of various denominations and creeds" should be encouraged to live in all students' hostels as the example of "good men and women" and conversations with them were the best means of imparting moral training to the youth.

their respect. That respect is not given today usually to the purely religious person, but someone who has views on the problems of the day, economic, political, cultural, etc.

What is a good man? How many people will agree in their choice of "good" men? Are we to introduce these good men and women in all our students' hostels? That would mean a vast service which certainly will contain few good men and mostly careerists. The good men of various religions and denominations will probably not get on with each other and will thus create not an atmosphere of unity but the reverse of this.

As a matter of fact it is the business of professors and tutors to undertake this task. It is they who should be good. If they fail to come up to the standard, are we to expect others to do so?

I confess I do not see how such a scheme will work out. However, I am sending a copy of your letter to the Education Minister for his consideration.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

9. To A.K. Azad¹

New Delhi
June 5, 1949

My dear Maulana,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from the Governor General, together with a copy of my reply to him.² As I have stated in the letter, I just do not see how this scheme can possibly work out. The financial aspect is relatively less important, but it cannot be ignored. We are likely to get second and third-rate people who will be looked down upon by both professors and students and will do no good to anybody. However, I should like your views on this proposal or any possible variation of it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(76)/49-PMS.

2. See the preceding item.

10. Indian Scholars in the United States¹

I should like to know what the position is in regard to sending scholars to the United States, or to any hard currency area. Owing to the great scarcity of dollars, we should avoid, as far as possible, indulging in any activity which means dollars. I think it would be a good thing if we stopped sending these scholars to America for the time being completely. We have not been very successful in absorbing even those who were sent there for study previously.

The other day I received complaints about a number of Tata scholars and the like who have received first-class training and yet are adrift.

I understand that there are six or seven inspectors of our students in the United States. According to a report received by me, they function in a peculiar way. An inspector will go to Los Angeles and come back to Washington. He will later go to San Francisco and then again back to Washington. This is needless waste of time and money. If one goes to Los Angeles, he should also go to San Francisco at the same time. As a matter of fact, the proper arrangements seem to be for one of these persons to be established in San Francisco or Los Angeles and to remain there; another man in New York and possibly one or two men elsewhere. The chief man should remain in Washington coordinating the activities of the others. It may be possible for the number employed at present to be reduced. I think this can definitely be done. Anyhow I should like your Ministry to give thought to this matter not only from the point of view of saving money and dollars but introducing greater efficiency and less waste.

1. Note to the Ministry of Education, 5 June 1949. File No. 40(25)/48-PMS.

11. To N.V. Gadgil¹

New Delhi
June 5, 1949

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of the 4th June and for the copy of your book, *Ghatna Prabodhini*.² I am sorry I am unable to profit by it, as I do not know

1. File No. 32(98)/48-PMS.
2. Enclosing a copy of his book *Ghatna Prabodhini*, a translation of the Draft Constitution and commentary on it in simple Marathi, Gadgil requested that a similar book on the Constitution be compiled in Hindi.

Marathi. I presume you have sent the book to Dr Rajendra Prasad. He will no doubt consider the suggestion you have made. There is at present a committee sitting for the Hindi translation. The original Hindi translation that was made was such that I could not understand it at all. I entirely agree with you that for a democratic working of our Constitution, such books are necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. Overseas Scholarships¹

I am very sorry for the delay in my dealing with this file. I have nothing to say about the constitution of the various selection boards,² except this that the Health Ministry should be intimately associated with the board for medical subjects. It would be better if the Health Ministry dealt directly with this board. This applies specially to nursing.

I have, however, been feeling more and more doubtful about sending scholars abroad at the present juncture, more especially to the hard currency countries. We have been spending a vast sum of money—and dollars—on our students abroad, and in view of the dollar stringency we should be very careful indeed in adding to our burdens. I am informed that many of our returned scholars, as well as the Tata scholars who have come back from the U.S.A., can find no work here in spite of high qualifications. This is extraordinary and deplorable and I should like the Education Ministry to inquire into this matter and report to the Government. To what is this failure to take advantage of these scholars due? How many are they and what are their qualifications? Unless we investigate this matter, it seems to me unwise to pursue a course which has led to these unfortunate results.

I would personally advise that we should, for the present, send no scholars abroad, unless there are very special reasons in individual cases—that is, training for some particular work that is needed. Meanwhile the inquiry into the state of returned scholars should be made.

I would add that the proposed composition of the boards is too large and cumbrous and the period during which they are supposed to function far too long.

1. Note to the Ministry of Education, 7 June 1949. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.
2. The Education Ministry had suggested that in place of a single selection board four specialist selection boards should be set up to select scholars for being sent abroad.

13. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
June 10, 1949

My dear Pantji,

I have been told that the teaching in Urdu in primary schools of the U.P. is drying up even where students or their parents desire it. Also that where children have learnt Urdu in the first standard, they have suddenly to shift over to Hindi in the second, with the result that they find it difficult to catch up.

The policy laid down by your Government in regard to this matter is clear enough. But difficulties appear to arise in the implementation of it. I feel that we owe a special obligation in this matter to see to it that Urdu has a fair chance for those who wish to have it. Personally I think that this question of Urdu should not be considered in opposition to that of Hindi. There should be no conflict, and Hindi is bound to play an ever-growing part in our province and in many other parts of India. The U.P. is a special home of Urdu and it has built up a certain cultural background which is a definite acquisition to our province and to India. Indeed, Urdu belongs more to the U.P. than to the whole of Pakistan.

I feel, therefore, that we should take special care to encourage Urdu wherever it is so desired. There is far too much passion and prejudice about this question of language for us to leave matters to their own fate. Government has to take a special interest to protect something which is worth protecting both from the cultural and the national viewpoint, as well as to indicate that we are perfectly fair to the sentiments of special groups.

Apart from this, I must confess that I feel more and more a stranger in the U.P. when I see the language that is coming into official use there, more especially in your Assembly. I do not understand it or understand only a part of it and it thus seems to me that we are becoming rather artificial in our passion for developing pure Hindi. Language is a very delicate instrument and I have always loved the play of words and phrases in language. I see no beauty or grace or exactitude in the new Hindi that is developing in the U.P. for official purposes. That seems to me rather a tragedy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 33(26)/48-PMS.

14. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
June 16, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 15 June about the appointment of a committee for the Banaras Hindu University.²

When Maulana suggested the appointment of such a committee, I had thought that it was a relatively simple affair, the purpose being to enquire into the general conduct of affairs in the University and more especially the charges that have been made against the present Vice-Chancellor although these matters might not have been mentioned in the terms of appointment. What you suggest is something much bigger and wider and is in fact a complete survey of University affairs with a view to changing the Act and overhauling all the existing machinery. That will take a long time and may not even touch upon the present difficulty.

Also your suggestion that the Vice-Chancellor should be on this committee, though good from the larger point of view, will not at all be helpful in the present context.

It has to be remembered that Govind Malaviya, the Vice-Chancellor, has himself asked for an enquiry on several occasions into the charges made against him. Why should we not take him at his word? The Education Ministry can appoint a committee of three persons (the persons named in your draft resolution minus the Vice-Chancellor) with limited terms of reference. Either the Vice-Chancellor accepts this or he does not. If he accepts this, well and good; if he does not, then he puts himself somewhat in the wrong and goes back on his own undertaking. We can then consider what other form of enquiry might be undertaken.

I spoke to Vallabhbhai on the telephone this morning and mentioned this matter. I understood from him that he had written to you.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, p. 149.

2. Rajagopalachari had informed Nehru about his agreement with Azad's proposal to appoint a committee consisting of Rustam Masani, Bakshi Tek Chand and C.R. Reddy to examine the working of the University with a view to suggesting necessary amendments in the Banaras Hindu University Act, 1915, and said that he had also suggested inclusion of the Vice-Chancellor of the University in the committee.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

15. To A.K. Azad¹

New Delhi
17 June 1949

My dear Maulana,

I have received a letter from the Governor General about the proposed enquiry into the Banaras Hindu University. After reading part of the correspondence, I feel a little confused. However, I think that it probably will be desirable to have an enquiry into the University affairs generally rather than to limit it to particular complaints.

I suppose you will be coming back to Delhi fairly soon. If so, the matter can be discussed here and finalized.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, p. 154.

16. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
June 17, 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

I have decided that it is not worthwhile taking any Buddhist relics to Ladakh.² I shall be only there for three days, mostly spent in moving from one place to another. At the monastery I shall spend just a day. Then again I understand that this monastery belongs to one sect. Another sect, representing a purer type of Buddhism, is elsewhere and I am afraid I cannot visit it this time. There will be difficulties, therefore, in taking any relics with me and so it is best to drop the idea.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(275)/48-PMS.

2. In his letter of 3 June, Mookerjee had suggested to Nehru to take the relics to Ladakh with him as he was doubtful if the monks in Calcutta would be able to make the journey themselves.

1

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION
III. Backward Classes and Tribes

1. Reservations for Backward Groups¹

Sir, there has been such an abundance of goodwill shown towards this motion that it is hardly necessary for me to intervene in support of it. But I have felt the urge to do so because I wish to associate myself with this historic turn in our destiny for indeed it is a historic motion that my colleague, the Deputy Prime Minister, has put before this House.² It is a motion which means not only discarding something that was evil, but turning back upon it and determining with all our strength that we shall pursue a path which we consider fundamentally good for every part of the nation.

Now, all of us here, I believe, are convinced that this business of separatism, whether it took the shape of separate electorates or other shapes, has done a tremendous amount of evil to our country and to our people. We came to the conclusion some time back that we must get rid of separate electorates. That was the major evil. Reluctantly we agreed to carry on with some measure of reservation. Reluctantly we did so for two reasons. Reason Number one was that we felt that we could not remove that without the goodwill of the minorities concerned. It was for them to take the lead or to say that they did not want it. For a majority to force that down their throats would not be fair to the various assurances that we had given in the past, and otherwise too, it did not look the right thing to do. Secondly, because in our heart of hearts we were not sure about ourselves nor about our own people as to how they would function when all these reservations were removed. We agreed to that reservation, but always there was this doubt in our minds, namely, whether we had not shown weakness in dealing with a thing that was wrong. So, when this matter came up in another context, and it was proposed that we do away with all reservations except in the case of the Scheduled Castes, for my part I accepted that with alacrity and with a feeling of great relief, because I had been fighting in my own mind and heart against this business of keeping up some measure of separatism in our political domain; and the more I thought of it the more I felt

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly, 26 May 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India Debates, Official Report*, Vol. VIII, 16 May to 16 June 1949, pp. 329-332.
2. Vallabhbhai Patel, while initiating the debate on the Report of the Advisory Committee on Minorities, etc., stated on 25 May 1949 that "notwithstanding any decisions already taken by the Constituent Assembly in this behalf... the Draft Constitution be so amended as to give effect to the recommendations contained in the said report" and proposed that "the following classes in East Punjab, namely, Mazhabis, Ramdasis, Kabirpanthis and Sikligars be included in the list of Scheduled Castes for the province so that they would be entitled to the benefit of representation in the Legislatures given to the Scheduled Castes."

that it was the right thing to do not only from the point of view of pure nationalism, which it is, but also from the separate and individual viewpoint of each group, if you like, majority or minority.

We call ourselves nationalists, but perhaps in the mind of each the colour, the texture of nationalism that is present is somewhat different from what it is in the mind of the other. We call ourselves nationalists—and rightly so—and yet few of us are free from those separatist tendencies, whether they are communal, whether they are provincial or other. Yet, because we have those tendencies, it does not necessarily follow that we should surrender to them all the time. It does follow that we should not take the cloak of nationalism to cover those bad tendencies.

So I thought about this matter and I came to the conclusion that if at this stage of our nation's history, when we are formulating this Constitution, which may not be a very permanent one because the world changes, nevertheless which we wish to be a fairly solid and lasting one, if at this stage we put things into it which are obviously wrong, and which obviously make people look the wrong way, then it is an evil thing that we are doing to the nation. We decided some time ago in another connection that we should have no truck with communalism or separatism. It was rightly pointed out to us then that if that is so, why do you keep these reservations because this itself will make people think in terms of separate compartments in the political domain.

I would like you to consider this business, whether it is reservation or any other kind of safeguard for the minority, objectively. There is some point in having a safeguard of this type or any other type where there is autocratic rule or foreign rule. As soon as you get something that can be called political democracy, then this kind of reservation, instead of helping the party to be safeguarded and aided, is likely actually to turn against it. But where there is a third party, or where there is an autocratic monarch, or some other ruler, it is possible that these safeguards may be good. Perhaps the monarch may play one off against the other, or the foreign rule. But where you are up against a full-blooded democracy, if you seek to give safeguards to a minority, and a relatively small minority, you isolate it. Maybe you protect it to a slight extent, but at what cost? At the cost of isolating it and keeping it away from the main current in which the majority is going, I am talking on the political plane of course—at the cost of forfeiting that inner sympathy and fellow-feeling with the majority. Now, of course, if it is a democracy, in the long run or in the short run, it is the will of the majority that will prevail. Even if you are limited by various Articles in the Constitution to protect the individual or the group, nevertheless, in the very nature of things, in a democracy the will of the majority will ultimately prevail. It is a bad thing for any small group or minority to make it appear to the world and to the majority that "we wish to keep apart from you, that we do not trust you, that we look to ourselves and that therefore we want safeguards and other things." The result is that they may get one anna in the rupee of protection at the cost of the remaining fifteen annas. That is

not good enough, looked at from the point of view of the majority either. It is all very well for the majority to feel that they are strong in numbers and in other ways and therefore they can afford to ride roughshod over the wishes of the minority. If the majority feels that way, it is not only exceedingly mistaken, but it has not learnt any lesson from history, because, however big the majority, if injustice is done to minorities, it rankles and it is a running sore and the majority ultimately suffers from it. So, ultimately the only way to proceed about it, whether from the point of view of the minority or from the point of view of the majority, is to remove every barrier which separates them in the political domain so that they may develop and we may all work together. That does not mean, of course, any kind of regimented working. They may have many ways of thinking: they may form groups; they may form parties; not on the majority or minority or religious or social plane, but on other planes which will be mixed planes, thus developing the habit of looking at things in mixed groups and not in separate groups. At any time that is obviously a desirable thing to do. In a democracy it becomes an essential thing to do, because if you do not do it, then trouble follows—trouble both for the minority and for the majority, but far more for the minority.

In the present state of affairs, whether you take India or whether you take a larger world group, the one thing we have to develop is to think as much as possible in larger terms; otherwise we get cut off from reality. If we do not appreciate what is happening, the vast and enormous changes happening elsewhere which really are changing the shape of things, and cut off our future almost completely from the past as we found it, if we stick to certain ideas and suspicions of the past, we shall never understand the present, much less the future that is taking shape. Many of our discussions here are inevitably derived from the past. We cannot get rid of them. None of us can, because we are part of the past. But we ought to try to get ourselves disconnected from the past if we are to mould the future gradually. Therefore from every point of view, whether it is theoretical or ideological or national or whether it is in the interests of the minority or of the majority or whether it is in order to come to grips with the realities of today and of tomorrow which is so different from yesterday, I welcome this proposal.

Frankly I would like this proposal to go further and put an end to such reservations as there still remain. But again, speaking frankly, I realise that in the present state of affairs in India that would not be a desirable thing to do, that is to say, in regard to the Scheduled Castes. I try to look upon the problem not in the sense of a religious minority, but rather in the sense of helping backward groups in the country. I do not look at it from the religious point of view or the caste point of view, but from the point of view that a backward group ought to be helped and I am glad that this reservation will be limited to ten years.

Now I would like you to think for a moment in a particular way just to realise how the present is different from the past. Think of, let us say, five years ago, which is not a long time. Think of the problems that you and I and the country had

to face then. Make a list of them and then make a list of the various problems that this honourable House has to consider from day to day. If you do this you will see an enormous difference between the lists. The questions that are before us demanding answer, demanding solution, show how we have changed for good or for evil. The world is changing; India is changing; not politically alone. The real test of all change is: what are the problems that face us at a particular moment. The problems today are entirely different from the problems that five years ago faced us in any domain, political, economic or in regard to the States. If that is so, we have to tackle problems in a different way, no doubt holding on to the basic ideals and the basic ideology that has moved us in the past, but nevertheless remembering that the other appurtenances of those ideologies of the past have perhaps no function today. One of the biggest things in regard to them is this one of separate electorates, reservation of seats and the rest. Therefore, I think that doing away with this reservation business is not only a good thing in itself—good for all concerned, and more especially for the minorities—but psychologically too it is a very good move for the nation and for the world. It shows that we are really sincere about this business of having a secular democracy. Now I use the words 'secular democracy' and many others use these words. But sometimes I have the feeling that these words are used today too much and by people who do not understand their significance. It is an ideal to be aimed at and none of us—whether we are Hindus or Muslims, Sikhs or Christians, whatever we are—none of us can say in his heart of hearts that he has no prejudice and no taint of communalism in his mind or heart. None or very few can say that, because we are all products of the past. I do not myself particularly enjoy any one of us trying to deliver sermons and homilies to the others as to how they should behave, or one group telling the other group, whether of the majority or of the minority, how they should do this or that in order to earn goodwill. Of course, something has to be done to gain goodwill. That is essential. But goodwill and all loyalty and all affection are hardly things which are obtained by sermonising. These develop because of certain circumstances, certain appeals of the mind and heart and a realisation of what is really good for everyone in the long analysis.

So, now, let me take this decision—a major decision—of this honourable House which is going to affect our future greatly. Let us be clear in our own minds over this question that in order to proceed further we have—each one of us, whether we belong to the majority or to a minority—to try to function in a way to gain the goodwill of the other group or individual. It is a trite saying, still I would like to say it because this conviction has grown in my mind that whether any individual belongs to this or that group, whether in national or international dealings, ultimately the thing that counts is the generosity, the goodwill and the affection with which you approach the other party. If that is lacking, then your advice becomes hollow. If that is there, then it is bound to produce a like reaction on the other side. If there were something of that today in the international field, probably even the great

international problems of today would be much easier of solution. If we in India approach our problems in that spirit, I am sure they will be far easier of solution. All of us have a blend of good and evil in us and it is so extremely easy for us to point to the evil in the other party. It is easy to do that, but it is not easy to pick out the evil in ourselves. Why not try this method of the great people, the great ones of the earth, who have always tried to lay emphasis on the good of the other and thereby draw it out? How did the Father of the Nation function? How did he draw unto himself every type, every group and every individual, and got the best from him? He always laid stress on the good of the man, knowing perhaps the evil too. He laid stress on the good of the individual or group and made him function to the best of his ability. That I think is the only way how to behave. I am quite convinced that ultimately this will be to our good. Nevertheless, as I said on another occasion, I would remind the House that this is an act of faith, an act of faith for all of us, an act of faith, above all, for the majority community because they will have to show after this that they can behave with others in a generous, fair and just way. Let us live up to that faith.

2. To A.V. Thakkar¹

New Delhi
5 June 1949

My dear Thakkar Bapa,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of the 22nd May. I entirely agree with you that we should do everything possible in regard to raising the standards of the backward classes, etc. I am not quite clear in my mind whether a commission appointed at the present moment would prove very helpful. Such a commission would wander about for months and months and no immediate results would follow. It might be better to take up this question in right earnest at a somewhat later stage when we are a little free from our present troubles.

The commission would have to deal with very different types and groups of people. It may be that the method suggested might differ for various groups. The general policy will have to be laid down as to what we are aiming at. This would depend on whether we aim at absorbing them gradually into the general population

1. File No. 33(55)/48-PMS.

(I am referring here specially to the tribes) or at encouraging them to retain them as a separate entity. Then the question of making provision and arrangements for their progress in various directions. This would involve much expenditure. At the present moment we are just incapable of finding funds.

I would have thought that it was a simpler course at present for a more limited approach to be made to the problem, something that could be done soon and something that we could afford. You with your expert knowledge and some others could make specific proposals within these limitations and we could consider them.

As regards what you say about funds for basic education, I sympathise with you very much. But again we must look at it from the context of our capacity to pay. We are facing a grave financial situation and we can hardly allot moneys which we do not possess. We did, however, make provision for the training of basic teachers which is the first thing to be done in this respect.

I shall gladly meet you if you so desire. But the particular points that you have mentioned are clear enough and we shall give thought to them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Backward Classes¹

I enclose a letter from Shri A.V. Thakkar as well as copy of my reply to him.² I should like to know what the Home Ministry's views are on this subject. I do not think the appointment of a commission as envisaged in the Constitution is called for at present. But I do think that some definite thought should be given to this matter. The tribes should really be separated from the other groups as they have special problems. The Scheduled Castes are more or less looked after. As for other backward groups, they certainly require help. But it is not clear to me in what form this can be given.

2. It may be desirable for Government to appoint a small committee of three to five persons, with Shri A.V. Thakkar as one of the members. They should not be asked to undertake a comprehensive survey but rather to indicate the nature of the problem and how we should face it within our limitations, financial and other. This committee in effect would prepare the ground for the future commission.

1. Note to the Ministry of Home Affairs, 5 June 1949. File No. 33(55)/48-PMS.
2. See the preceding item.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION
IV. General Perspectives

1. Looking at the Future¹

India today has to play an important role in Asia. With the disappearance of the European powers there has been a tremendous resurgence of nationalism all over Asia. This resurgence has had both a good and bad effect. In India the latter expressed itself in the communal movement which resulted in the division of India.

After the partition, communalism has begun to express itself in Hindu and Sikh communalist organisations, like the R.S.S. and the Akali Party. Another movement which has come up in the last eighteen months in opposition is of the communists. Up to the time when we were struggling for independence they were with us, but now, for reasons best known to themselves, their methods of opposition have gone to the extent of breaking the peace.² The Indian Government does not oppose criticism or expression of opinion, but when the security of the State itself is threatened the Government cannot tolerate that kind of opposition. We have an example in Burma to warn us.

Much has been said about the agreement for India to stay in the Commonwealth. Some misinformed people have suggested that there have been secret agreements and that India has become a party to the Atlantic Pact. In support of this it is suggested that a military mission has been sent to consult defence organisations here. I categorically state that this is complete nonsense. We have no secret agreements and have joined no political bloc. The decision to send the military mission had been made several months ago and it was purely for the purpose of purchase of stores and to study the possibility of setting up factories in India. We have chosen to stay in the Commonwealth, because we do not want to live in isolation and because it confers on us benefits which do not take away our sovereign status.

We can only contribute to the maintenance of peace in the world by being independent and that is why we have decided to be independent.

Question: We would like to know whether there are suitable openings for jobs for us especially in government service?

1. Address to the representatives of twenty-three student organisations in the United Kingdom, London, 2 May 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 3 and 4 May, and the *National Herald*, 3 May 1949.
2. The change to violent methods in Communist policy came in early 1948 and lasted till mid-1949, specially in Maharashtra, Telangana, Travancore, West Bengal and the U.P.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal Nehru: Indian students will be selected for foreign training on the principle of fitting them into posts for which they are best qualified. The financial burden is heavy, but if suitable candidates can be found for suitable jobs, it will be a very good investment.

With the independence of India and the partition there is a very big gap in officer personnel, both in the Civil Service and the Army. For example, in the army 8,000 English officers have left and they had to be replaced by people who lacked the requisite education and experience. In spite of that India has been able to overcome difficulties.

Q: What is the value of degrees if students fail to get jobs? That may be the cause of student unrest.

JN: One problem constantly facing the Government with regard to students is their peculiar attitude of opposition to all kinds of authority.

One fails to understand the desire of students to strike if more than the usual percentage of students fail in examinations. I think there is an unhealthy respect for degrees, both because students require them to get into service and because of the price put on degrees in the marriage market.

I discussed this subject when I met the famous playwright George Bernard Shaw last Friday. Mr Shaw's secretary stated that she had no university degree, whereupon Mr Shaw remarked that if she had had one she would not have been working as his secretary.

In a recent visit to Hyderabad of Sardar Patel, students at Osmania University proposed to him that his visit should be honoured by granting promotions to all students who had failed in their examinations.

Some demands of students are unreasonable. The Government recently formed a Universities Commission and the students unions demanded representation on it. Taken to its logical conclusion, there could be a case for having representatives of high schools and even kindergartens on such bodies. This is trying to carry democracy to absurd lengths.

Q: What is India's proposed action about treatment of Indians in South Africa?

JN: The question of Indians in South Africa is complicated by their being South African nationals. India can only take an interest in their position as a racial minority.

Q: Do you think it will be possible to arrange an exchange of Indian and British art treasures?

JN: Such a development will always be welcomed, but it will be an expensive and hazardous task to undertake.

Q: Do you think Congress can fight the disruptive forces in India today?

JN: The Congress is the only organisation which can meet the threat of the many disruptive forces in India. It has fulfilled that function in the past and, while I do not know what will happen in two or three years' time, I do hope that the Congress will continue to provide a unifying and progressive force so long as there is a possibility of disruptive tendencies becoming too strong.

2. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
May 10, 1949

My dear Bidhan,

Your letter of the 10th May about linguistic provinces. Our Cabinet is likely to consider the report of the three-man committee² appointed by the Jaipur Session of the Congress. Naturally two of the members of that committee, who are also members of the Cabinet, will want that report adopted as it is, without any addition or subtraction. In that report we have clearly discountenanced all agitation for redistribution of provinces or realignment of boundaries for the present. We can only repeat that and we cannot possibly refer to any particular claim in this respect. To refer to a claim in any manner is to go against the whole tenor of the report and to encourage agitation on that issue.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. The Linguistic Provinces Committee consisting of Nehru, Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya submitted its report in April 1949. For this report, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 10, pp.128-137.

3. Promotion of Tourism¹

I have previously suggested that one not unimportant way of getting dollars is to encourage tourist traffic from dollar countries to India. When I was in London

1. Note to the Ministries of Home Affairs and Finance, 24 May 1949. J.N. Collection.

in October, the Chancellor of the Exchequer² there, in explaining his programme for the future, laid great stress on getting dollars through tourists from America and Canada. Indeed he estimated a very considerable sum from this source. The British Government is going all out to encourage this tourist traffic and is planning to hold huge exhibitions which might attract tourists.

We cannot do all this, but I think we can get a few million dollars through tourists and that will be a net gain to us. I think this should be investigated. Even apart from the dollar aspect, the visit of American and such like tourists may have other beneficial consequences also.

I know that the Home Ministry has recently relaxed rules for temporary visas for tourists from America etc. I do not quite know how this has worked in the past few months. This might be examined and, if necessary, further relaxation might be given.

2. Stafford Cripps.

4. To Hiralal Shastri¹

New Delhi
June 6, 1949

My dear Hiralalji,

A deputation of about 15 persons came to me today. They came from Pilani and told me that their lands were being acquired for building an aerodrome near Pilani. They said that some little distance away there is plenty of land available out of the land vacated by people who had gone to Pakistan. This land was not only available but was also of inferior quality and was more suited for an airstrip. The distance too was not great.

I do not know all the facts. But I have no doubt that you have enquired into this matter. It is always a painful operation to eject people from their land as this causes a great deal of ill-feeling. If necessity requires it, then of course it has to be done. Even so, every care should be taken to take such land as is not being used for food production. Good land should be avoided as far as possible. Where ejection takes place, alternative land should be given wherever possible for adequate compensation. As a matter of fact mere compensation is seldom welcomed by people who hold land.

1. J.N. Collection.

Although, no doubt, you must have considered this matter, I hope you will apply the tests I have mentioned above. Is it a fact that plenty of land was vacated by people who went to Pakistan and has not been disposed of yet? This is rather surprising, if it is so. Because if there is such land, it should be utilised for the settlement of refugees. In any event, such land should be preferred for an airstrip to richer land occupied by agriculturists.

We have to be careful at any time, and more especially in these days, of needlessly irritating anybody of the public. It is not easy to explain to them distant perspectives.

I enclose a piece of paper about this business that was handed to me by the deputationists who came to see me today.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To B.R. Medhi¹

New Delhi
June 14, 1949

My dear Medhi,²

Thank you for your letter of the 10th June, which I have read with interest. I appreciate entirely your desire not only to save public money but to serve the interests of Assam. Nevertheless the interests of Assam are completely bound up with the interests of India.

Assam is a province crying loud for development. It is unfortunate that we cannot supply enough funds for it. Nevertheless I think much can be done. I hope that you will have the full census taken of the refugees, as suggested by our Rehabilitation Minister.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Finance Minister of Assam.

3. Mohanlal Saksena, Central Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation.

6. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
June 20, 1949

My dear Matthai,

You mentioned to me the other day about the Princes not investing and in fact trying to send their money outside the country. I am asking Sardar Patel to induce some of them to invest their money in India and certainly not to send it abroad.² Meanwhile could you have this matter examined as to how to prevent money being sent abroad by the Princes or others except in the case of necessity. This should apply to jewellery also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. See the next item.

7. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
June 20, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am told that in previous years whenever a loan was issued on behalf of India, or any other profitable investment in the market, the Princes took a large share of it. They were privately approached by the promoters and the greater part of the loan or other investment was subscribed even before it was put before the public.

Now this does not take place and that is one reason among many that money is not forthcoming for investment. I am further told that attempts are being made by Princes to send out as much money and jewellery as possible outside India. I think that we should take steps to stop this outflow not only from the Princes but from all people and only allow money to be sent abroad in case of need. Our Finance Ministry should examine this matter.

I wonder if you could draw the attention of the Princes, or at any rate of the bigger ones, to the necessity not only of keeping their money in India, but of investing it here. It is true that their status has changed greatly. But still they have plenty of funds at their disposal which they can invest.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES
I. General

1. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
May 10, 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Amtus Salam came to me this evening and talked to me about the Rajpura camp and township.² She was not satisfied with the Board that is being formed there and suggested that you might be induced to become its Chairman. Rajpura is an important experiment of ours in building the township. It is largely confined to the Bahawalpur refugees. I was a little surprised to hear from Amtus Salam of her suggestion that you might preside over the Board, because I thought you would be too busy to do so. She told me, however, that you were not averse to doing so, if the work is considered important enough.³

The work is of course important and the success of each rehabilitation scheme and township paves way for further success. While I dare not ask you to undertake any fresh burden, if you can associate yourself with this work in any way and advise the people there from time to time, I shall be very happy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 29(150)/49-PMS.
2. A township was proposed to be built at Rajpura in Patiala State for the settlement of about eighty thousand refugees, mainly from the Bahawalpur State. Government of India had sanctioned Rs two crores for the project.
3. Later in May, he accepted the chairmanship of the Rajpura Development Board.

2. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
May 15, 1949

My dear Sachar,²

For the last year and a half I have been interested in conditions in Buria, District Ambala. Indeed, I derived part of my interest because Mahatma Gandhi was interested in the Muslims of Buria. Later Lady Mountbatten and the United Council for Relief and Welfare were interested. The matter has been considered repeatedly by us and by the East Punjab Government.

1. File No. 7(51)/48-PMS.
2. Premier of East Punjab.

Some time back we were assured that everything had been done to rehabilitate these Muslims in their houses—lands had been allotted, loans had been sanctioned etc., etc. I now learn that while some orders were passed, actually nothing has been done. Possession of the houses has not been given, nor lands; nor have loans sanctioned to them been paid. Their fruit gardens have been sold by the Government to other refugees and money has not been paid to them.

I shall be grateful if you will look into this matter. It has become rather a test case for us and we have been pursuing it, as I have said, for over a year and all kinds of guarantees have been given to these Muslims who are a simple, harmless folk deserving every sympathy. We consider ourselves in honour bound to see this matter through.

A deputation of these Muslims from Buria came to see me today. Among other things they stated that in October 1948 a Muslim was murdered, but no action was taken by the police against the culprits. Further that a *chamar* (Harijan) was murdered, according to them, by members of his own community. Several Muslims unconnected with this business have been arrested and a case has been filed against them.

These people seem specially nervous about the activities of the tehsildar for rehabilitation and a sub-inspector of police there. Also the assistant camp commandant.

They further added that their mosques had not yet been vacated.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Gopinath Bardoloi¹

New Delhi
May 18, 1949

My dear Bardoloi,

I thank you for your letter of the 7th May. I see you are here in Delhi and I was hoping to have a talk with you. Meanwhile, I am replying to some matters referred to in your letter.

1. J.N. Collection.

You mention that Pakistan is carrying on espionage in Assam. To some extent, I suppose, this is being done by Pakistan all over India and it is inevitable. But of course, so far as we are concerned, we must try to stop it or find out what they are doing. We do not object normally to particular persons visiting India from Pakistan. But if high officials make a point of coming to India and staying here for a long time, the matter might well be enquired into.

I am surprised to learn that you feel yourself helpless in dealing with the influx of Muslims into Assam. As you know, we have a permit system as between Western Pakistan and India. I do not think there is a permit system in regard to Eastern Bengal and Western Bengal and possibly no such system exists in regard to Assam either. I think you should discuss this matter with Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar. This really has nothing to do with the type of permit system that we have in the west. In a sense you have to face a somewhat different problem and surely we ought to be able to devise ways and means to deal with it.

About the influx of Hindus from East Bengal, this is a different matter entirely. I am told that your Government or some of your Ministers have openly stated that they prefer Muslims of East Bengal to Hindus from East Bengal. While I, for one, always like any indication of a lack of communal feeling in dealing with public matters, I must confess that this strong objection to Hindu refugees coming from East Bengal is a little difficult for me to understand. I am afraid Assam is getting a bad name for its narrow-minded policy.

You say that there is no further land available in Assam. This is a question of fact which can easily be determined. It is patent, however, that if land is not available in Assam, it is still less available in the rest of India which is very heavily populated, barring the deserts and the mountains. What then are we to do with the millions of refugees we have to deal with? Many of them, of course, will be accommodated in East Punjab or round about from where Muslims have gone, but we have refugees from Sind, from the North West Frontier Province, from Baluchistan, from East Bengal etc. Where are these to go to if each province adopts the attitude that Assam apparently has done? Are we just to push them out of India or to allow them to starve and die out? Obviously not. Therefore, we have to absorb them and make provision for them so that they might be good citizens. In doing this all provinces have to help and cooperate and it will do no good to a province to refuse cooperation in this national work.

The refugee problem is one of the two or three problems to which we give first priority in India at present. This applies to the utilisation of our financial resources also. Our development schemes are thought of in terms, to some extent, of refugees. If Assam adopts an attitude of incapacity to help in solving the refugee problem, then the claims of Assam for financial help obviously suffer.

You say that you have already received two and a half lakh Hindu refugees from East Bengal. That may be so, although there are no precise records. But evidently the Assam Government has done nothing for them and they have shifted for themselves.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I think it is important that your Government should look at this question from the larger viewpoint. This is not only essential for India but, if I may say so, for Assam also. Of all the provinces of India Assam is the least heavily populated and there is going to be continuous pressure upon it from all sides including China. No laws will be able to prevent this pressure and occasional influxes. We can deal with this methodically by selecting our people or be swept away by it willy-nilly.

You talk of the communist menace etc. That is no doubt a separate problem. But it is also related to the problem I have touched upon above.

I understand that it has now been decided to have a census of displaced persons taken. Also that there should be a welfare committee in each district and that deputy commissioners should give rehabilitation facilities to artisans etc. and destitute persons. I am glad this is going to be done and the sooner it is done the better. But the main thing is that this problem has to be looked upon from a different aspect than it has been thus far in Assam. I understand that Medhi, your Finance Minister, is a strong opponent of any further refugees coming to Assam. I think he is wrong in this. I am sending a copy of this letter to him also so that he may know my views on the subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
May 19, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Mridula has been discussing with me various matters connected with rehabilitation, etc. Some of these appear to me to be important and deserving of urgent consideration. I mention these below:

1. In the Delhi Province there seems to be a great deal of overlapping and we have not yet evolved a system of coordinating them. I should have thought that the best course was for the Chief Commissioner to be the authority which deals with matters directly. Ministries should deal with him rather than directly. That is to say, we deal with Delhi Province as with other provinces, except for the fact that we exercise much more intimate and constant supervision. At present it is difficult to say who is responsible.

1. File No. 29(72)/48-PMS.

2. Who is responsible for the Muslim refugees in Delhi, Ajmer, Bhopal, etc., that is to say, the Muslims who went away temporarily and came back, often finding that their houses had been occupied by others or allotted to others? There is the question of Buria which has often been raised. There is the matter of evacuee property in Delhi, Ajmer, etc., that is, the property of Muslims who have come back. Some of these Muslims have been allowed to occupy other Muslims' vacant houses. If there is some kind of an agreement with Pakistan about evacuee property, what will happen to these people?

3. Somebody should be responsible for all this as well as for actually helping such Muslim refugees as require help. We cannot confine our help to non-Muslims only. Obviously it is the business of R. & R. Ministry. I am told that there is no financial provision for this. I think there should be some provision, whatever it might be. I think also that a special officer of your Ministry should be in charge of this Muslim refugee problem.

4. There is the question of Kashmir refugees,² which has to be treated on a special basis. I understand that an officer has been appointed. But what policy is being pursued? Apart from its humanitarian aspect, this has a political aspect also.

5. Various schemes for the rehabilitation of refugees have come from Kashmir and have apparently been hung up. One of these is the Rajauri scheme. Could not this be expedited? There is no reason for delay in any work and delay in passing schemes seems particularly undesirable. It should always be remembered that Kashmir is of primary importance to us from many points of view and everything connected with it should be dealt with speedily.

6. I spoke to you yesterday about social workers. I have no doubt that the method you adopted was well meant. But I find that it has rubbed up many people the wrong way, such as Sucheta Kripalani. These people feel that you ignore well-known organisations and tried workers. I wish you would try to meet them and soothe their feelings. Normally they should be consulted whenever social work is considered or organised.

I think there should be a meeting of the Cabinet Committee for Rehabilitation fairly soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Affected by the Pakistani aggression in Kashmir in 1947, about 1.35 lakh people were estimated to have migrated from occupied Kashmir territory, some 87,000 to other parts of Kashmir and the rest to other parts of India.

5. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
May 27, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter about the Kashmiri refugees. As I told you on the telephone, we should certainly undertake to do everything for the Kashmiri refugees that we are doing for other refugees with one exception for the present. This exception is of sending them elsewhere for rehabilitation. This question will have to be considered fully and separately. Otherwise you should provide them with all other benefits and more especially vocational training, loans, education, etc. We cannot allow them to run to waste in our camps. I heard a bad story from Chakrata of the state of Kashmiri refugees there.

Also it must be remembered that the plebiscite is far off and no one knows what will happen.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

6. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
May 31, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of May 27, which I received as I was going to Kashmir.

Delhi Province: I think you have somewhat misunderstood me. I did not mean that there should be any reversal of our policy in regard to provinces.² I quite agree

1. File No. 29(72)/48-PMS.
2. On 27 May 1949, Mohanlal Saksena wrote that though the Chief Commissioner was responsible for rehabilitation work in the Delhi Province, his Ministry was compelled by force of circumstances to take over some schemes directly. He advocated greater Central role for expeditious implementation of programmes and stated that if it was desired of the Ministry to "confine its activities only to considering problems as they arise and issuing policy directives to Provinces and States", it implied reversal of policy.

with you that unless your Ministry takes an active interest and part in the rehabilitation programme in the provinces, we can expect little results there. What I had suggested was that the Chief Commissioner might be made to realise his responsibility a little more in regard to the general scheme of rehabilitation and left with some discretion to go ahead, subject to the policies laid down by you. Certainly, if necessary, the Centre should take even greater powers of execution and control. But, generally speaking, you have inevitably to rely on provincial authorities for a great deal of work in regard to implementation. It would be bad for them to feel irresponsible about it. Special schemes of rehabilitation in Delhi would, of course, be dealt with by you directly. What is really necessary is close coordination between your Ministry and the provinces and the same applies to the Chief Commissioner in Delhi.

Position of Muslims: The question only arises in regard to

- (i) Muslims who left their homes during the disturbances temporarily and went to another part of the Indian Union.
- (ii) Muslims who under stress of circumstances even went to Pakistan, but whose families remained here.

In regard to (i), there is already a Cabinet decision. Nevertheless, it is obvious that we cannot leave this matter entirely to the normal processes of the law. Thus we have specially considered the Meos and the Buria Muslims. Probably there is no other big group left, but there must be any number of individuals who have to be catered for. I think some special effort should be made to look after them. It was partly for them that I suggested that some special officer in your Ministry might consider their cases. Whether you have a special officer or give this special duty to one of your officers is immaterial. The fact is that our whole organisation has been built up with a view to helping the vast mass of Hindu and Sikh refugees from Pakistan. It is not conditioned to look after Muslims whose cases stand on a somewhat different footing. It may even be that there is not too much sympathy for these Muslims among Government departments or outside. We, as a Government, however, have to pay some special attention to such cases because each one is a kind of a test case for us about our *bona fides*. How to pay some special attention to such cases, it is for you to decide.

As regards (ii), the position is somewhat different, but there are similar features. Even if a person has left for Pakistan, if he has his family here, some consideration might be given to his or her case. Obviously, the matter should be considered with some strictness so as not to permit people to take advantage of our policy. You will remember that the A.I.C.C., at Gandhiji's instance, decided in November 1947 that Muslims should be invited to come back to India from Pakistan, that is, such

Muslims as have gone away.³ To some extent we encouraged this policy and considerable numbers came back to Delhi. Then we grew stricter and we have to be strict now. But we cannot apply a general rule absolutely in every case and a certain individual consideration is necessary.

It is perfectly true, as you say, that people come on temporary permits and then try to get them extended here. That is quite natural because it is easier to get temporary permits. The partition has split up families and even husbands and wives. I think, as a general rule, if a husband or wife is here, the spouse should be permitted to stay here unless there are some special reasons to the contrary. This should more especially apply to women coming back from Pakistan whose husbands are here. This necessitates no arrangements for accommodation, nor it is a matter of large numbers. I am told that there are about 50 women in Delhi at present who came with temporary permits and who have their husbands here permanently settled. I see no reason why their permits should not be extended or why they should not be allowed to settle down here with their husbands. We must remember that it is not easy for these poorer folk to understand the fine niceties of law and permits. They get the temporary permit easily and hope to get something more when they come.

Bogus claims should not be accepted, but a certain human approach should be made to individual cases, more especially women. I am not referring to any question of property at present. I wrote a note to your Ministry the other day about the cases of such women.⁴ I hope you have gone into it. The custodian comes into the picture in regard to property only.⁵

There is no question of our short-circuiting the judicial processes or of relaxing the law about property etc., but there is a question always of human beings treated as human beings and not merely as some impersonal objects. I have a feeling that our bureaucratic procedure does not think very often of the human aspect. Also that there is so much feeling against Muslims as such that they do not always get justice at our hands.

3. The All India Congress Committee, meeting in Delhi from 15 to 17 November, decided that "while it is impossible to undo all that has been done every effort should be made to enable the evacuees and refugees from either Dominion ultimately to return to their homes and to their original occupations under conditions of safety and security. It is the duty of the Central Government of the Indian Union and the Government of Pakistan to negotiate on this basis and to create conditions which would enable the evacuees and refugees to return with safety."
4. See *post*, Section 6, sub-section IV, item 4.
5. Mohanlal Saksena had written that the position was complicated by the fact that a large number of Muslims were trying to dodge the custodian. He thought that if the custodian concerned was allowed to decide each case on its merit there would be no need of any special officer, and added that "any effort on our part to short-circuit judicial processes in these cases will lead to a very severe criticism from the displaced persons."

You are right in saying that I should have referred to you before giving Rs 10,000 to Yadav⁶ for relief to Meos. That would have been desirable. I did not know or did not remember that you had given Rs 25,000 to the U.C.R.W. for the relief of the Meos. I have to act quickly on occasions if I feel that suffering can be avoided. I am not enamoured of red-tape too much. It is more important to deal with human suffering quickly than through the files and I am prepared to take the risk. Because I thought the need was urgent, I decided to give Rs 10,000 from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund to Yadav. I have no doubt that the money was needed. Whether it would be properly applied or not, it is difficult for me to say.

Kashmiri Displaced Persons: I think we should progressively treat these displaced persons on the same level as other displaced persons. I have not seen your note about it yet. The first thing to be done is to give them all the training in their camps, etc., that you give to others and to make them eligible for service here. As for any special scheme of rehabilitation, that might be considered separately.

I am glad to read what you write about your relations with social workers.⁷ I convey to you every reference or complaint that I get. That, of course, does not mean that what I get has any truth in it or exaggeration or that I believe in it. But because I know you well I feel the easiest course is to forward these to you. You have a terrible job to do which concerns itself continually with human beings and distracted and sometimes neurotic individuals. In this work the social worker is all important.

About Mridula I entirely agree with you that her approach is often one-sided and creates fresh problems. I am overwhelmed by her notes. I do not think it is a question of non-interference with the administration. In a matter like rehabilitation, this overlaps so much with social work and social worker that it is not normal administration and we should welcome all types of help. It is for us to assess them and value them. Mridula has done a wonderful piece of work and in a moment of emergency she is invaluable. I wish she did not function exactly as she does. The best way for us is to get full value of her work and not mind much where her approach is wrong. She is a good sentinel. That is how Gandhiji used to treat her and he got very good work from her. All of us working in official grooves are apt to miss some important aspect of a picture and it is a good thing for this aspect to be pointed out to us even though this is done in an exaggerated manner.

You and Mehr Chand⁸ can, of course, come and see me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Gopilal Yadav was a Minister in the erstwhile Matsya Union.
7. Mohanlal Saksena had written that a number of social workers were working in a spirit of cooperation with his department.
8. Mehr Chand Khanna was Adviser, Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, at this time.

7. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
June 3, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

I wrote to you two or three days ago² in reply to your letter about Muslims' claims and requests. You had suggested that it was not necessary for any special officer to be appointed for this purpose and the ordinary law should take its course. There is no question of the ordinary law not taking its course. But the point was that we should assist people to see that the law does take its course. We assist a large number of refugees from this point of view and in addition help them in various ways. There are many Muslims involved who have been uprooted or pushed hither and thither by recent happenings. They find it very difficult even to take advantage of the law in their favour. Probably those in Delhi have no great difficulty, because there are people to help them including your Ministry. But those outside Delhi have seldom this facility. Who looks after them or gives them advice or assistance? Many cases have come to my notice of Muslims who had not gone out of the Indian Union but who had to leave their homes temporarily and, maybe, gone to another city. Meanwhile their original homes or property had been treated as evacuee property and dealt with accordingly. Law may be on their side, but it is difficult to get the law to move. And so they send applications and write letters. Who is to help them or bring their cases to the notice of the proper authority?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 29(72)/48-PMS.
2. See the preceding item.

8. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
June 4, 1949

My dear Mehr Chand,

I have just seen copy of a letter dated 30th May addressed to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur by you in regard to the removal of registration restrictions in the case of

1. J.N. Collection.

5,000 families of displaced Harijans. I have also referred to some previous correspondence on this subject between Rameshwari Nehru and you.

I have not quite understood the matter and as to what is demanded and what is refused and what the consequences of this refusal are. But I must confess that I am not at all convinced by your argument which does not meet the points raised in Rameshwari Nehru's letter to you. Whether you register them or not is a matter about which I can express no present opinion, but I am quite clear in my mind that Harijan refugees have to be given very special attention and help. It seems to me that the better class who have come here get most of our attention and assistance.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
June 6, 1949

My dear Mehr Chand,
Your letter of the 6th June.

My approach to the rehabilitation programme is more or less this: Every individual, except the very young and the very old and the disabled, is or should be a producer. The whole scheme of rehabilitation in the earlier stages goes towards relief and later towards rehabilitation. Even without government help, this should be done. But inevitably it would be slow. With government help, it can be speeded up, though even then, of course, it will take some time.

According to Gandhiji's basic education, this principle of production should be employed from almost the earliest stage in schools and colleges. Whether that can be done or not in a normal system of education may be a matter for argument. But in the peculiar position of the refugees that is the only right solution.

When considering the question of refugees, one should forget for the moment evacuee property, very important as that question is. I say we should forget it in drawing up our schemes, because otherwise our schemes will depend on an uncertain factor. Independently, of course, we should do our best in regard to evacuee property and try to recover its value or rent.

1. J.N. Collection.

You have raised two questions or rather two aspects of the same question: that Muslim property here is dealt with very leniently and that Muslims are allowed to return here. Further that those who have come on temporary permits are allowed to get their permits made permanent. This can be divided up into what might be called illegal entry and other illegal methods and more or less legal ones. So far as illegal methods are concerned, obviously the only thing to do is to be more vigilant and try to prevent this happening. It is not a question of the law or of the implementation of the law.

The two proposals that have been made, which you think are undesirable, are: (1) that an officer should be appointed to deal with the cases of Muslims and (2) that temporary passes may be made permanent.

In regard to (1), I do not see how the appointment of an officer leads to circumventing the law. It can only mean at the most the law not being circumvented where a Muslim has certain rights under the law. Apart from this, it means a closer and stricter examination of cases that are referred to and thus preventing, on the one hand, any fraud being practised by the Muslims and, on the other, injustice not being done to individual Muslims. I just do not see how this affects the question at all otherwise.

As for temporary permits being made into permanent ones, the instances cited were specially of women whose husbands have all along been here. The number involved, I was told, was about 50 at present and may be a few more in the future. Altogether it is a very small number and it is manifestly unjust not to allow a wife to join her husband, who is allowed to remain here according to our own regulations. No country's law (I do not know about Pakistan) comes in the way of this. This is not a relaxation of the permit system, nor is it partial to one section of the population at the expense of another. It is ordinary practice in any civilised country.

You mention concessions given to Mr Jinnah, to Mr Liaquat Ali Khan and to the Nawab of Bahawalpur. This may or may not be justified. But it is not clear to me how these very few concessions affect the problem. What was done to the Meos does not seem to me any concession at all.

There is a great deal of loose talk about a secular State. What that means, few people seem to understand. The phrase was used to distinguish from the other variety, that is, a State where citizenship rights appertain to the followers of one religion or two as the case may be. In other words, that Muslims as such in India have no particular rights except what we, out of our grace, might grant them. That is a conception of a State which is completely foreign to all ideas of law and practice all over the world except in Pakistan. Certainly it is not the conception which we have followed here in India.

What I do not understand is that apart from the merits of these two or three questions that you discuss, how they bear any relation to the larger problem. I can understand, as I have said above, that we should be strict about the return of large numbers of Muslims to India from Pakistan or even a small number, and that each

individual case should be examined on the merits. Having granted that, the other things do not follow. It may be that psychologically refugees are irritated by even a single instance of a Muslim being given any particular privilege or facility. But practically the numbers involved are so small now that it makes no difference at all, right or wrong.

The questions of citizenship, nationality and domicile are highly technically legal questions and it is doubtful what even a lawyer can say about them at the present stage. We raised these questions in Ceylon, Burma and elsewhere, although conditions there are different. Here, after the violence of the post-partition days and the terrible atmosphere of fear that surrounded the people, it is difficult to apply any strict legal test to begin with. Of course, later that has to be applied.

But, if I may repeat, I do not understand how these minor questions which affect some individuals have any bearing on the main issue.

So far as I am concerned, my own mind is perfectly clear in these matters and I have viewed with dismay and sorrow the narrow and communal outlook that has progressively grown in this country and which shows itself in a variety of ways. I shall cease to be Prime Minister the moment I realise that this outlook has come to stay and that I cannot do my duty as I conceive it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
6 June 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

I have just seen the Governor General and he spoke to me about the United Council for Relief and Welfare. He showed me some papers which you had sent him in regard to the application for a grant for financial assistance to the U.C.R.W. by the Ministry of Rehabilitation. These papers consisted of a note by the Deputy Secretary, B.G. Rao,² a letter by C.N. Chandra, Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation, to B.N. Banerji, Secretary, U.C.R.W., and a copy of the report by a committee consisting of C.N. Chandra, Mrs Matthai³ and B.N. Banerji.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (b. 1909); joined I.C.S., 1934, and resigned, 1958.

3. Achamma Matthai helped in the rehabilitation of women from 1947 to 1950.

I have read these papers. If the conclusions arrived at in them are correct, then for all practical purposes the U.C.R.W. should wind up shop, or at the most it may carry on some very restricted activity. I think, from every point of view, this would be unfortunate and undesirable.

Apart from this, I am unable to appreciate the arguments put forward by various officials of your Ministry. If I may say so, they exhibit an approach to this refugee problem which is typical of the official mind and which does not take into consideration the human factor at all. The refugee problem is essentially a human problem to be dealt with on the plane of social welfare far more than by the routine methods of government departments. It is such a vast problem that it cannot be left to private agencies and, therefore, Government took charge of it completely. While the responsibility of Government is essential, the other aspect of it is also important. In fact, the problem cannot be solved without a combination of the governmental aspect and the social welfare aspect. It is conceivable, in theory, for a government or a department of government to develop the social aspect side fully. But most governments do not function in that way and certainly not our Government. In any event, that is a process which takes time. We are trying to do it now, I know, but at a pace which is alarmingly slow and to an extent which appears inadequate.

The general policy to be adopted, therefore, should be one of coordination between purely government activity, semi-government activity and private agencies working independently, but under the general direction or supervision of government. Indeed, the attempt on the part of government should be to utilise as many such agencies and individuals as possible. Such a big task cannot otherwise be handled effectively. We have to develop the sense of self-help and self-reliance in our people, both among the refugees themselves and among voluntary and semi-voluntary workers. We have to yoke the energy and enthusiasm of the country to this enormous task. This cannot be done by government alone or by governmental agencies where people think in terms of allotted work, service, files and the rest. Where government comes in chiefly it is to coordinate these various activities to prevent overlapping and waste and to try to get the best value for its money. Therefore, progressively government should rope in other organisations and individual workers to this task and help them to share the burden of government. That burden is not just a financial burden. That is the least part of it. It is the burden of dealing with human beings in a human way so as to rehabilitate them physically, mentally and otherwise. Essentially it becomes even more a psychological problem than a mere financial one.

If this is the right approach, then the approach made in the papers you have sent to the Governor General is a wrong one. One of the arguments advanced is that it is improper to single out a particular body for special governmental aid when there are other such bodies. I do not see at all why any particular organisation should be singled out. The Rehabilitation Ministry should offer help to any

worthwhile organisation about whose *bona fides* and capacity for work it is satisfied. Naturally, all this would be subject to the finances available. But apart from this, it is rather odd to treat the U.C.R.W. just as an odd social welfare organisation like others. It is still odder to talk about other bodies of longer standing and wider field of work. The U.C.R.W. was formed at a moment of crisis in order specially to deal with that crisis. It did extraordinarily good work. That immediate crisis has passed but we continue to face some kind of a permanent crisis in regard to this rehabilitation problem of vast numbers of people. Therefore, *prima facie* the need for the U.C.R.W. continues and very much so. Have we solved the problem of rehabilitation to our satisfaction that we can wind up organisations which have done good work and which are capable of doing good work in this direction?

It should be remembered that the U.C.R.W. did two kinds of work from the beginning. It coordinated the activities of a large number of organisations affiliated to it, and at the same time it worked directly in various fields. If there was no such thing as the U.C.R.W. in existence, it would be necessary to create some such organisation for the purpose of coordinating these various activities. The fact that this coordination work is somewhat less now than it used to be, does not affect the main problem. From this point of view alone the U.C.R.W. must continue. From the other point of view of doing work directly the test is whether that work is satisfactory or not and what particular work should be allotted to it.

In the Deputy Secretary's note reference is made to my approval of the work done by the All India Women's Conference in Calcutta. I certainly approve of that work and I think it should be encouraged and helped just as, I think, similar work done by any organisation should be encouraged. That has nothing to do with the question of assisting the U.C.R.W.

The Deputy Secretary says that he is not prepared to extend aid to any organisation in fields of relief and rehabilitation except where that field is specially marked out and is excluded from the governmental activities in this line. That again seems to be a wrong approach. As I have pointed out above, the problem is too big not only in extent but in quality for Government to tackle it by itself and it should welcome every kind of assistance. Government's approach should be to give every facility for others to work and indeed thereby to lessen its own responsibility. Naturally care has to be taken to avoid overlapping or competition in any sense between the work of the Central Government, the provincial governments and the U.C.R.W. or any other organisation. To some extent overlapping probably inevitably takes place. We seldom have perfect organisations. But it is better to have some overlapping than gaps and empty places where work is not adequately done.

Certain instances are given about an extra car being used somewhere or help to T.B. patients. All this seems to me completely frivolous and I am surprised that in this major question a mentality which gives such instances should have anything to do with refugees. In my private capacity or as one in charge of the Prime

Minister's Fund, I give help to many persons and I give it knowing that sometimes it may be a duplication. I prefer to take that risk than not to give that help. I have helped many T.B. patients. I have given my own car for use occasionally. Am I to be prevented from doing that because your Deputy Secretary disapproves of this practice? Where there is overlapping, it should be avoided and it should be enquired into.

The way this matter has been dealt with in your Ministry is completely unsatisfactory. Here is an organisation, the U.C.R.W., which has the Governor General for its President and the Prime Minister as the Vice-President and some other Ministers associated with it apart from a number of other representative persons. We are presented with some papers and notes of your office personnel without even any assessment of the situation by the Minister-in-charge. Presumably the Minister agrees with these notes. It is upto the Minister to write to the Governor General or to me. I am not interested in what the office says about it except to make some reference occasionally. The Prime Minister does not take his orders from the Deputy Secretaries or Secretaries and it is about time that your office staff realised this.⁴

All this business makes me think that something is radically wrong with your staff. If they bring this mentality to matters of rehabilitation, they will not succeed as they have not succeeded remarkably in the past. I have repeatedly stressed before you that the way of approach to this problem should be human. I do not see any trace of it in the notes and papers sent to the Governor General.

Two or three days ago I sent you a proposal, recommended by Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, for some cooperative organisations among refugees for producing milk. Subsequently, I think, I sent you another similar proposal. Both these seem to me the right lines and approach for rehabilitation of refugees. Probably they do not fit in with any governmental approach. No doubt your office people will put up long notes to this effect, and I will not be impressed by these notes. I should like to take advantage of every effort made by every group and individual in India for the rehabilitation of these unhappy displaced persons.

I have not discussed in this letter the details as to what should be done and how. This can be gone into later. The main thing is that, in my opinion, the U.C.R.W. must continue and be given every opportunity to serve and rehabilitate the refugees; so also other worthwhile organisations. Having recognised this fact, the other questions can be considered about the availability of finances, the extent of help to be given, the manner of it, etc.

4. In a letter dated 7 June to Krishna Menon, Nehru wrote: "The other day a note by the Deputy Secretary of the Rehabilitation Ministry came to my notice in which he had pompously decided something against a joint request of the Governor General and me. I was irritated, but he was perfectly in his rights, representing his Ministry, to give his opinion."

I have written to you separately about Muslim displaced persons in the Indian Union. You replied to me that it was not necessary for any special steps to be taken about them. I wrote to you again on the subject wanting to know if anybody in your Ministry or in India was responsible for them. I must confess that if the approach to the Muslim refugees is somewhat on a par with the approach to the U.C.R.W. as exhibited by the papers shown me then I can only regretfully come to the conclusion that nothing will be done for them.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Governor General.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
7 June 1949

My dear Bidhan,

I have had long talks with Colonel Jiwan Singh² of the Noakhali Ashram.³ I know you are very busy at the present moment specially and you will be going away soon. Nevertheless I am writing this to you to tell you that I think Jiwan Singh's proposal to isolate some families, at the most a hundred to begin with and, possibly, even less, give them some little training and then take them back to East Bengal, is a good one. I think it should be certainly tried. If it is a success, it is a better way of dealing with this matter than our other way. It will have a good psychological effect also. I understand that you yourself approve of it. All I wish you to do is to tell your rehabilitation officers and others concerned to work up this scheme in cooperation with Jiwan Singh. There should be no delay.

Yours,
Jawahar

1. File No. 29(159)/49-PMS. Also available in File No. 30(38)-Pak.A/49, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. Jiwan Singh Bains joined the Kapurthala Infantry in 1940 and was posted to Malaya; commander of special training institute of I.N.A., 1942; assisted Mahatma Gandhi from 1946 and lived in West Bengal after 1947.
3. A Gandhi camp was established in Noakhali after Mahatma Gandhi reached there on 17 January 1947. It set up about thirty relief centres. Half a dozen medical missions also started operating in Noakhali; and about twenty centres were working under Mahatma Gandhi's 'one village one worker' plan.

12. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi

June 8, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th June.

I wrote to you frankly and expressed my immediate reactions to the papers that the Governor General had shown me. I did so because I can afford to be perfectly frank with you, as we have known each other for a long time, worked together and can take liberties with each other. I might have hesitated to write like that to some of my colleagues in the Cabinet.

I agree with you that our officers should be given freedom of expression. What I object to is a certain mental approach to the problem which I consider totally inappropriate. That approach may be described as the typical official approach and it is prevalent all over the Secretariat. It has its virtues. But it has its very definite failings also. In a matter like the treatment of refugees, these failings become more apparent.

Because you have allotted a sum for the treatment of T.B. patients in hospitals, it does not follow that all T.B. refugees are going to be looked after. Indeed any person, with any knowledge of facts as they are, knows well that the problem of T.B. among the refugees is a much bigger one. Because of the limitation of our finance, we have to go slow. Yet the official approach is that having allotted a sum for T.B. patients, we have solved the problem of their treatment, just as an official thinks that having written a minute in a file, the problem is solved. Where human beings are concerned, and refugees more particularly, this is singularly a wrong approach and every private or semi-private offer to help refugee T.B. patients should be welcomed as an addition to the more direct official attempt.

As I wrote to you in my previous letter, the question of finances being available does not come into the picture at this stage. The whole argument of the notes prepared in your Ministry was not based on the availability of finance, but on the impropriety of giving help to private organisations and more especially the U.C.R.W., which was more recently organised than some others. This argument struck me as peculiarly wrong, because I think we should welcome and encourage the work of private and semi-official organisations. As a matter of fact, the U.C.R.W. was specially created for this very purpose in order to deal with the refugee problem, so that it stands on very special footing. It gives a certain personal touch which inevitably official dealings can seldom give. To look upon it as an intrusion and interference with what is the preserve of official activity is, I repeat, a wrong approach.

1. J.N. Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to C. Rajagopalachari.

The U.C.R.W. is obviously not just a private concern, but in many ways an official concern with a private way of working. When it was formed, the matter was discussed with Gandhiji, Sardar Patel and others. It was their opinion that it should rely completely on government help or the help of special funds which had been collected. They were not in favour of a separate appeal being issued for it. Government gave it considerable help and a substantial sum was also given by the Congress fund under Sardar Patel's control. I have also given some money out of the Prime Minister's Fund.

I am quite sure that this organisation should continue. What exactly its activities should be is a matter for consideration. I feel also that the advice Gandhiji gave about not making a special appeal to the public separately still holds good. Therefore it must rely on government assistance principally. This means assistance from Rehabilitation Ministry. That assistance need not cover the entire expenditure of the organisation. But it should go a long way to do so. I propose to help it also from the Prime Minister's Fund from time to time.

I referred to the Governor General, but you no doubt realise that the Governor General is something more than the head of the State. He is an old colleague of great experience, whose advice is always valuable. If he feels that something of this kind should be done, we cannot easily reject that advice, especially in a matter of this kind. I did feel that the way your office treated this matter was exceedingly casual, apart from its being just official and little more. I repeat that the question of availability of finance was hardly considered in those notes. That is a separate question, though I would say that it should not be difficult to find relatively small sums for this kind of work.

I have repeated to you, as I have repeated to others, the desirability of the human touch. Whether I possess this or not, I cannot judge. But I am very conscious of the fact that the Government of India machinery lacks it to a large extent and, therefore, in every department of our administration I try to keep this aspect in the forefront. I can never forget that I am only partly an official and much more something else.

There is no question of my lack of faith in you or your work. We have known each other long enough to appreciate each other. There is no department of Government which is more difficult or more harassing than the Rehabilitation Ministry and I know quite well what a tremendous burden this has been on you and on your chief officers. Because of that, all of us are apt to fall into ruts and lapse into routine. I find myself doing that all the time and have to pull myself up. Similarly I try to pull other people up. I should like you to take what I have written in that spirit and not in any spirit of lack of appreciation of the work you have put in into this business. Therefore, no question arises of my asking you to give up this work or my accepting your suggestion in that behalf. We cannot escape from the burden we have undertaken, however heavy that might be. So you and

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I have simply to go ahead and do our utmost so long as there is any strength left in us. I suppose that some kind of inner faith keeps us going.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi
June 13, 1949

My dear Kher,

You are no doubt acquainted with the activities of the United Council for Relief and Welfare. This was started by Lady Mountbatten as a coordinating agency of various relief organisations at the time of the upheaval in north India in August 1947. Ever since then it has done very good work, both directly and through its affiliated bodies. At present the Governor General is its Chairman and I am one of its Vice-Chairmen.

It has undertaken a number of activities, which normally governmental agencies do not undertake. It has also assisted governmental agencies of relief and rehabilitation. A large band of workers have been working for it.

We have felt that an essential part of relief and rehabilitation is the psychological part and the building up of morale and self-reliance. This was somewhat neglected in the earlier stages, as the mere obligation to feed and give shelter to vast numbers of people was itself a stupendous one. Also normally governmental agencies cannot easily function in the field of psychology and morale-building. Lately, more attention has been given by Government as such to this human and psychological approach, which cheers up the refugees considerably. We have decided to train social workers for this particular type of work.

While Government, both in the Centre and in the provinces, is progressively undertaking this work, it is manifest that Government is hardly in a position to do it effectively and sufficiently. Apart from this, private or semi-official agencies are far more suited for this kind of approach. We attach the greatest importance to this attempt at mental rehabilitation. It is almost as important as physical rehabilitation. It includes many types of activities and because of the varied nature of the approach, a private individual is often more capable of doing it than an official. In dealing with the refugees and displaced persons, this psychological approach

1. File No. 29(67)/48-PMS.

is of the most vital importance. They have gone through great suffering and are frustrated and generally angry with the world. They have to be dealt with gently and at the same time with firmness, but always with human understanding and a friendly approach.

It is because of this that we have specially encouraged the United Council for Relief and Welfare to help in this work, and the results have been generally good. We are convinced that this work should continue in an organised and coordinated way. Where a provincial government is doing this work directly and satisfactorily, then of course it is not necessary for the U.C.R.W. to intervene. But the task is so big that no government, provincial or Central, can really do it adequately, and so any real assistance should be welcomed.

The question of financing this work has repeatedly arisen. When the U.C.R.W. was started, it was Gandhiji's opinion that we should not make a separate appeal for funds for it. Since then it was helped by Government grant as well as by grants from some private and semi-official funds, like the Prime Minister's Fund. The Ministry of Rehabilitation now point out that they cannot help in the work that the U.C.R.W. is doing in the provinces, as they have already subsidized the provincial governments for this work. Therefore this expenditure should come out of the relief grants and loans already given to the provinces. There is something in that argument, though we feel that it is not wholly correct. We think that a part of the burden of this work should fall on the Central Government. But we also feel that it will be right and proper for the provincial government concerned, where the U.C.R.W. are working, to share the burden of expenditure incurred on their work in that province. It is really a part of the rehabilitation work for which the Central Government has already made grants.

I should like to know what your views are in regard to this. Do you think that the U.C.R.W. are doing good work in your province? If so, that work has to be supported and we suggest that the cost of it might be shared between the province concerned and the Centre. Considering the scale of relief and rehabilitation expenditure, the amount required by the U.C.R.W. is rather trivial. I think it will be fitting that your Government undertakes this partial burden.

I should like to know what your views are on this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. To Mridula Sarabhai¹

New Delhi
June 14, 1949

My dear Mridula,

I have your various notes. I cannot write to you in reply about all the matters touched upon by you, but when you come back, you should fix some definite time for us to discuss these matters.

We shall try to find a way out of the financial difficulties. The first thing to do is to be precise about financial commitments. In your enthusiasm you go ahead in many directions and these add to your burdens as well as to the burden of the U.C.R.W. That is not a proper way of working. I am quite clear that the U.C.R.W. must define its activities in order to meet them effectively and efficiently. No organisation and no individual can deal with all kinds of activities without any clear definition. That really should apply to you also if you wish to be really effective. No work should be undertaken which is not financially provided for.

The work you are doing has a great deal of importance, but I greatly fear that the manner of doing it will spoil that work. I do not even know how this work is carried on and who are your principal workers.

The work of U.C.R.W. should be precisely defined and should not run into your other work. Your other work should also be defined.

In your enthusiasm you rush in and undertake responsibilities which cannot easily be fulfilled and then you get into difficulties. Your note yesterday about Kashmir was an instance of this. Some points you mentioned were worth noting, but you proceeded with the assumption that you knew all about the Kashmir situation while most of us were groping in the dark. The fact is that we probably know much more than you do. In any event, it is very unwise to make all manner of suggestions about Kashmir, which affect so many of our activities and Ministries, and expect U.C.R.W. to adopt your suggestions. This is not a very responsible approach.

I have asked Banerji to prepare full accounts of activities and discuss them with Pai first and then with me.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. Mridula Sarabhai Papers, N.M.M.L.

15. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
June 15, 1949

My dear Mehr Chand,

At the Party meeting this evening some Members of the Constituent Assembly came up to me and spoke to me about the eviction of people from the Pusa houses.² They said they had gone there themselves and seen them. I told them of course that these people had taken possession of these houses only ten or twelve days ago and it was impossible for us to allow them to remain there, when the houses have been allotted to others. If people had been there for some months, we might have tried to provide alternative accommodation. But in such a case even that responsibility was not ours.

They said they entirely agreed with me except for two facts. One was that there were some people (how many they did not say) who had been there for several months and who should be provided some alternative accommodation or at least given time to shift.

Secondly, they said that it was heart-rending to see little boys and girls lying in the sun and those houses lying empty in front of them. Could not the eviction have taken place with a little more gentleness and consideration? True, they had to be evicted, but perhaps a little more consideration would not have come in our way and might have avoided this display of apparent callousness to human suffering. Perhaps if four or five days are given to some people to shift over, it might help.

I am passing on this information to you as they said it. They were greatly disturbed by what they had seen.

I have no doubt that in the circumstances you have told me these people have to go. But I am always afraid of the police way of handling things. This is where our social workers should come in. Could you send some competent person who could see for himself what is happening and how it is being done? If there are a few cases of people who have been there for some months, they might be given some more little time to find alternative accommodation. In the other cases, where there are women and children, perhaps a few days more would not make much difference.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 29(25)/47-PMS.
2. Pusa Colony in New Delhi.

16. United Council for Relief and Welfare¹

I would like to refer to the United Council for Relief and Welfare and to the useful work it has been doing in certain parts of India. The type of work undertaken by this Council cannot be performed equally well by government agencies. It has been the policy not to make a public appeal for funds for this Council. This was the advice given by Gandhiji when the Council was started and it has been followed so far. Funds have been provided from Government's resources or from the Prime Minister's Fund. After scrutiny it appears that the Council would require Rs four lakhs. Out of this the Prime Minister has agreed to give Rs one lakh from his Fund. The Ministry of Rehabilitation should give the balance of Rs three lakhs. This would include the sum of nearly Rs one lakh which has already been given....

1. Remarks at a meeting of the Cabinet Committee for Rehabilitation, 17 June 1949. Cabinet Secretariat Papers. Extract.

17. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
June 18, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

I have received your two letters of the 18th June. Thank you for them.

As regards officers, I shall certainly try to help you to get them, but I cannot do so vaguely in the air. If any particular demand is made, I shall try to support it.

I agree with you that we should meet regularly. I am prepared to do so twice a week, preferably in the morning at about 9 o'clock in my office and then on Saturday.

We can discuss about social workers, as you wish. My own attitude is that we must try our utmost to get outsiders not only to help us but to undertake odd bits of work. This for two reasons. One is that the work is so tremendous that no government organisation, however big, can deal with it satisfactorily and we must have as much outside help as possible. Secondly, this creates psychological reactions among people and makes them believe that they are sharing in the work. If this is successful, the number of workers spreads greatly. If we are not successful, it remains limited, but even so, the psychological impression remains. I attach the greatest importance to this mental reaction not only of the refugees but the mass

1. File No. 20(12)-PMS.

of our people. Political work has taught us that these mass reactions are of the highest importance. In any democracy specially the whole structure of government depends upon them. Whether we look at Government or the Congress, we find that these mass reactions are becoming more and more hostile. It just does not matter how efficiently we work or how hard we work, if we cannot gain public goodwill.

The recent South Calcutta election has, I hope, been an eye-opener to all of us. Dr Bidhan Roy is one of the ablest and most efficient men in India. He has worked hard and conscientiously. Yet the result is that he has angered almost everybody in Calcutta and his Ministry is about as unpopular as anything can be. With all his ability, Dr Roy cannot contact or inspire the masses. It just does not matter what majority he may have in the Assembly, if he cannot carry the people with him.

We have to keep this always in mind. In dealing with rehabilitation work, we have to consider the refugee mentality and the public mentality and try to deal with both in such a way as at least to create an impression that we are doing our utmost and in the most friendly way. It is easy to explain to people that we are not magicians and cannot solve every problem. But we have to deal with them in a way that they do not distrust us.

It is essential, therefore, that we should get in as many outside workers as possible. If any group, like the Indian Cooperative Union, wants to do work, if any refugees start some institutions, school or anything else, standing on their own feet, we should welcome this and pat them on the back. It may be that they fail and there is some loss of money. Still, the gain to us is considerable in public reactions. We are spending crores of rupees over rehabilitation and no doubt a great deal of that is wasted. Yet we get nervous about small sums of money which create favourable impression for our work. That is a policy of penny-wise and pound-foolish.

That is why I consider it essential that the U.C.R.W. should be helped by us. I would help any other organisation like that.

That is why I think we should help the Indian Cooperative Union or other similar schemes run by Kamaladevi.² It may be that they fail, but it will be far greater failure on our part if the news spreads that we are reluctant to help efforts at self-help.

My own definite impression was that it was decided at the Cabinet Committee yesterday that you will advance Rs 10,000 to Kamaladevi for her new scheme. If she wants more money, I shall advance it to her. I think you had better do that as soon as possible. Every little bit done today means saving trouble for the future.

2. Mohanlal Saksena had informed Nehru the same day that the Chattarpur Dairy Farm, run by the Indian Cooperative Union and for which Nehru had advanced Rs 10,000, was incurring losses due to mismanagement. He was against any further grant to the Farm till it acquired suitable grazing.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

You refer to your bigger cooperative scheme for the distribution of milk, etc. Well and good. But all this takes time and time is more precious than anything and indeed costs money. Fifty rupees today may save five times that much tomorrow.

I have been connected with planning for the last dozen years. I am a bit tired of planning now, for it seems to me that it just leads to schemes on paper and delays everything so much that little results for the present.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

18. To Sucheta Kripalani¹

New Delhi
June 20, 1949

My dear Sucheta,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th June. Thank you also for the trouble you took over the Pusa Colony affair and the school.² I was much depressed at the thought that the school should be stopped. A school, good or indifferent, should be encouraged and not put an end to.

As regards your other suggestion,³ I shall certainly draw the attention of the Estate Department.

As you say, we have to combine firmness with humanity. Unfortunately, the combination is rare.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 29(25)/47-PMS.

2. Sucheta Kripalani, Secretary, Central Relief Committee, wrote that Mohanlal Saksena and Mehr Chand Khanna had agreed to provide "tented accommodation and two pucca rooms" for Amar School, which had been unauthorisedly functioning from Pusa Colony. A girls' school would also be shifted from there on the same basis.

3. She suggested that the Estate Department release some quarters or tented accommodation for about 90 government servants to be evicted from the Pusa Colony quarters, which were meant for the registered refugees only.

2

REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES
II. Meos

1. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
May 20, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

I have addressed you previously on the subject of the rehabilitation of Meos² in the Matsya Union.³ The problem now appears to have somewhat simplified itself in the sense that large numbers of Meos have already returned to their original homes in Alwar and Bharatpur. So far as Alwar is concerned, there is no problem left. In Bharatpur, however, there is the question of about 15,000 Meos still to be rehabilitated.

A number of refugees from the Punjab have also been settled in Alwar and Bharatpur. I understand that it is possible to accommodate the remaining Meos in Bharatpur without having to push out the refugees who are there. It may be necessary, however, for certain adjustments to be made.

The old idea that the Meos should be put in compact areas has proved to be impractical and in fact conditions have advanced so far that that idea has to be given up completely. Although Meos are returning still, unless definite decisions are made in regard to their rehabilitation, confusion might arise and there might be delay in settling them in time to deal with the next *kharif* harvest. It seems to me very important that this matter should be settled so that neither the Meos nor the *kharif* crops should suffer. Every day of delay is bad and leaves the position uncertain.

I understand that the condition of many of the Meos is bad in the sense that they have absolutely no resources left. They will have to be helped by *taccavi* loans which probably they will be able to give back. The help required by them is much less than by normal refugees from the Punjab. They can also build their own houses where necessary without much help. I think *taccavi* loans will have to be given in order to give these people a chance to go ahead and cultivate the land.

I have had a talk with Shri Gopilal Yadav and he has explained to me the position fully. He is strongly of opinion that delay at this stage in deciding this question may lead to harm being done not only to the Meos but to the *kharif* harvest. In fact he tells me that at the very latest final decision must be taken within a week,

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Meos are Muslims of Rajput origin. They are mainly agriculturists and are spread over Gurgaon, Alwar, Bharatpur, Faridabad, Ambala, Mathura, Bulandshahr, Aligarh and Saharanpur. Over sixty thousand Meos were displaced from their homes and land in the months following the partition in 1947.

3. The Matsya Union, comprising the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Karauli and Dholpur, merged into the Union of Rajasthan on 15 May 1949.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

preferably earlier. In view of this situation and also in view of the fact that it is always desirable to decide quickly and not leave large numbers of people unsettled about their future, it seems to me essential that we should meet soon to consider this problem and decide it finally. I would like to do this within the next two or three days, but I am going away to Dehra Dun today. I shall be returning on the 23rd evening. I suggest therefore that a meeting of the Joint Rehabilitation Board to consider this problem of Meos in Bharatpur be convened on the 25th May in New Delhi and that information of this be sent immediately to all the members concerned. More particularly the States Ministry should be informed. Shri Gopilal Yadav should be requested to attend this meeting.

In view of the distress among the Meos I am giving Rs 10,000 from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund to Shri Gopilal Yadav to relieve urgent cases of distress.

I understand that Dr Rajendra Prasad is greatly interested in the resettlement of the Meos. I have in fact been shown the draft of a statement which he and Shri Vinoba Bhave would like to issue. This or any other statement cannot be issued till the matter is finally settled. I think it will be fit and proper to invite Dr Rajendra Prasad also to the meeting on the 25th.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Hiralal Shastri¹

New Delhi
4 June 1949

My dear Hiralalji,

You must know about the latest developments in regard to the resettlement of the displaced Meos in Alwar and Bharatpur. We have had long controversies on this subject and I am afraid we have wasted a lot of time. While we argued, the Meos gradually drifted back and a large number of them returned to their old homes. Thus water found its own level as soon as obstructions were removed.

I have been especially interested in this matter because Gandhiji had often spoken to me about it and had taken a keen interest in the Meos. For him this had become a test case of our *bona fides*.

1. J.N. Collection.

Apart from this, it did seem to me advantageous from every point of view for these Meos to be settled in their old homes as far as possible. This may not be wholly possible now, but it is clear that it can be done to a large extent, without inconveniencing the refugees who have been settled there greatly. Also without interfering with the tractor scheme for bringing land under cultivation. Although you must have received the report of the Cabinet Committee on this question, I am enclosing a copy of it for reference. I should like your Government to pay special attention to this matter. Indeed, it is to your Government's interest to do so and your responsibility. You will be helped in every way by us. There are two particular points which have to be borne in mind. The first is that there may be some mischief-makers who might create trouble. A great deal had been said about dangers to law and order. The experience of the recent past shows that there has been no breach of any kind and there was no particular danger for the future. Nevertheless, some people may be interested in creating a little trouble. For this reason it is desirable to be a little vigilant during these operations of settling down. Perhaps you may send some police or other force just to go round and see that things are all right in these areas.

Secondly it is important and urgent that those Meos should be settled down and start cultivation immediately, that is, before the rains commence. Otherwise we shall lose valuable time. For this purpose they may have to be helped with *taccavi* loans, seeds etc. This principle was agreed to by the Cabinet Committee, as you will see from the notes attached. Unfortunately government business is slow and it may well be that, before we get through our various stages of procedure, the rains may begin, and nothing will be done. Therefore I suggest that your Government might immediately help in giving some loans to deserving cases. Our Ministry of Rehabilitation will be ultimately responsible for them. I do not think much money is needed for this and I am quite sure that these loans will be returned later.

I might mention that I gave a sum of Rs 10,000 for relief to Meos (not loans) to Shri Gopilal Yadav, ex-Minister, Matsya Union.

Shri Vinoba Bhave has kindly consented to go to these Meo areas for two or three weeks. He is leaving today. His presence will be very helpful. I hope your Government will give him every facility in regard to stay, transport, etc. I have told him that if he has any difficulty he might write to me and I should try to do what I can. But I am sure he will have no difficulty if you look after him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
June 10, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

With reference to our conversation this morning about *taccavi* loans etc. for the Meos in Matsya Union, I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Hiralal Shastri, Premier, Rajasthan.²

I think it will save time if you write to Hiralal Shastri yourself in regard to any particulars etc. that you may want. The policy having been decided, there is no impropriety in your writing to him directly. Of course, you should keep the States Ministry in touch with this.

As I mentioned to you, I am anxious that the next sowing season should be taken advantage of and for that purpose immediate steps should be taken to give the necessary loans to persons who can utilise them immediately. An advance for this even before other formalities have been settled will, no doubt, save time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. On 6 June, Hiralal Shastri wrote to Nehru that a committee of the Cabinet had been formed and a rehabilitation commissioner appointed in Rajasthan and added that a scheme for loan to deserving persons was being expedited.

2

REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES
III. Faridabad

1. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
May 11, 1949

My dear Sachar,

With reference to our conversation this evening about Faridabad, I hope you will send your chief engineer soon with plans, etc.

Regarding your suggestion that Chandra should be a member-chairman of the Board, I find that Chandra is not in charge of rehabilitation at all and his work as Secretary of Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry is heavy. Therefore someone else will have to be chosen, who is more in touch with the rehabilitation work of the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry and who can spare more time for this important work.

As I told you, we shall try our best to accommodate Dera Ghazi Khan refugees in this township. But it seems to me essential that a large number of N.W.F.P. men should also be accommodated there. Dera Ghazi Khan men would fit in with them completely. The whole conception of this camp is going to be one which is productive and more or less self-sufficient. We should, therefore, concentrate on small industries.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 29(150)/49-PMS.

2. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
May 13, 1949

My dear Sachar,

I am writing to you about Faridabad. I have gone into this matter more thoroughly and consulted various people connected with it. The more I think of it, the more I feel that the most speedy and efficient way of doing this project is for the army to be associated with it directly under the Central Government. The army cannot function under any other authority. Also, as I have pointed out, it is obviously desirable to have both the camp and the township under a single control. All this

1. File No. 29(150)/49-PMS. Copies of this letter were sent to C.M. Trivedi, Governor of East Punjab, and Mohanlal Saksena.

becomes relatively easy, because Faridabad is near Delhi and there can be constant supervision.

2. You told me that your Ministry was very anxious to have a majority in the Board which might be formed for this township. Presumably the idea of a majority means that the final authority will be the East Punjab Government. That does not fit in at all with the central idea of the army and the Central Government which I have mentioned above. So it is not a question of how many people there should be on the Board and how many from the East Punjab, but rather of the basic question of who should be in immediate control. Day-to-day problems will arise and will have to be decided. The Board will naturally decide them. But the Board may well function as if some members represented the Central Government, some the provincial Government and each referred back broad points to his Government. That would make progress difficult and dilatory. The whole conception I have of some kind of wartime work being done speedily will be knocked on the head.

3. I am anxious that we should set an example of rapid and efficient work such as is done in war emergency. I do not want in this particular case at least to follow normal office routine. It is this basic point that I want you and your Government to consider and to be clear about. If this is decided, then the question of numbers in the Board has little significance. The Board should represent the people actually interested in the job who are capable of giving effective assistance. From our point of view the persons to be represented there should be as follows:

- A representative of the R.R. Ministry,
- A representative of the Health Ministry,
- A representative of the Finance Ministry and

A representative of the United Council for Relief and Welfare.

I have put in Finance because from long experience it helps matters greatly if a Finance official of high standing is in a Board like this. His consent from day-to-day expedites matters. In any event a financial expert will have to be necessary, where such large sums are involved. Whether he is a full member of the Board or a kind of coopted member is a relatively small matter. On the whole it is better to make him a full member.

4. As for your members, the number does not make much difference to me. But obviously we cannot have too big a Board. The main thing is that your men should be present to help and cooperate with us and keep us in full touch with the East Punjab Government. The Chairman, I think, should preferably be an outsider from the governmental point of view. I think that we could not have a better Chairman than Dr Rajendra Prasad. He is greatly interested in relief work and I think I can induce him to take up this additional burden. His presence in the Board will give prestige to the Board and will make this scheme important in the eyes of the public.

5. Two important questions remain: one is the planning of this township and the other is the number of people and the kind of people to be accommodated in it.

6. As for the planning, your chief engineer will be coming here soon and we shall see his plans. Somebody who has seen them gave me an account of them and I fear this did not strike me as very satisfactory. The township, as I told you, is not merely a collection of houses, big and small, but a place where children and grown-ups work and play. There must be plenty of open spaces and proper sites for schools, markets, etc. However, we shall see to this when the plans come.

7. As for the people who will be provided for in this township, I believe it was suggested at one time that 20,000 N.W.F.P. men and 20,000 Dera Ghazi Khan and other West Punjab men should be put in. Later on it was suggested that 25,000 N.W.F.P. men and 15,000 others should be put in provided that the extra West Punjab refugees were provided for elsewhere. I think this business of numbers can be easily adjusted, if necessary, by increasing the size of the township or by making other provisions.

8. In planning the township it is important that the nature of industry to grow up there should be kept in mind. Are we basing it largely on small or relatively small industry or on some big industries, or both? A big industry, unless very carefully planned, might lead to slums as workers' dwellings. I have no objection to the big industry, provided it is completely on modern lines with proper workers' quarters. That is the way all industrial undertakings are being built in Europe now.

9. You mentioned something about cooperatives. This should be welcomed now.

10. I have indicated above my ideas about this Faridabad township and the way I should like it to grow. If your Ministry is agreeable to this and to Central control, naturally in cooperation with the East Punjab Government, but nevertheless for the general direction resting with the Centre through the army etc., then we can easily discuss the other problems that arise and there will be no particular difficulty. The sooner we do this, the better.

11. If, however, your Ministry does not like this idea at all, and wants to run the whole show by itself, then I do not wish to compel you in any way to submit to Central direction as suggested. But even in that case the planning will have to be passed by our Health and Housing Departments to see that sufficient open spaces, etc., are left and a healthy township grows up.

12. In the event of your not agreeing to the plan I have suggested and your preferring to do the job yourself, then another major consequence will follow. The Central Government will then choose another site round about here for its township and the sum allotted for Faridabad will have to be partly shared with this other township. That is to say that the present grant for Faridabad will have to be considerably lessened.

13. Please give full thought to this matter and come to an early decision so that we may start work accordingly. It may be desirable for you and your Minister for Rehabilitation to come here with your engineers to finalise these matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To C.M. Trivedi¹

New Delhi
May 13, 1949

My dear Trivedi,

I enclose a copy of a letter I am sending to your Premier about the Faridabad township project.² I am taking a great deal of personal interest in this matter, both because I am generally interested in relief operations and especially in the building of townships, and as a member of the United Council for Relief and Welfare. I hope that the East Punjab Government will not take too narrow a view of this matter and will realise that what we are suggesting is for their good as well as ours and more especially for the good of the refugees.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 29 (150)/49-PMS.
2. See the preceding item.

4. Faridabad Camp and Township¹

The Prime Minister gave an account of the position regarding Faridabad township and camp and communicated to the Committee the substance of the correspondence he had had in this connection with the East Punjab Government. The East Punjab Government had agreed that the Faridabad township and camp should be under the control and management of an autonomous Board, which should work under the ultimate authority of the Government of India through the Ministry of Rehabilitation. The East Punjab Government had also suggested that provision should be made in the township for 20,000 displaced persons from Dera Ghazi Khan. There should be no difficulty about this because the township was to

1. Minutes of a meeting of the Cabinet Committee for Rehabilitation, 25 May 1949. File No. 29(158)/49-PMS.

accommodate 40,000 persons, about half of whom would be from N.W.F.P. and the rest from Dera Ghazi Khan. With regard to the shifting of 20,000 Dera Ghazi Khan displaced persons to a camp near Faridabad, there was no objection in principle but there were certain practical difficulties, the chief of which was the shortage of water. These difficulties should be examined by the Board as soon as it is set up, and when they have been removed, there should be no hindrance to the East Punjab Government starting a camp for displaced persons from Dera Ghazi Khan. The Prime Minister also referred to certain other suggestions made by the East Punjab Government.

2. In the discussion it was stated that the various detailed suggestions made by the East Punjab Government could be more appropriately examined, in the first instance, by the proposed Board and decisions could be taken after the views of the Board were available. The important thing at the moment was to set up the Board so that it may start functioning immediately.

3. The Committee of the Cabinet came to the following decisions regarding this matter:

(1) That a Board should be set up consisting of the following:

Chairman;

1. Rajendra Prasad

Members:

2. A representative of the Rehabilitation Ministry
(who would act as Convener)

3. A representative of the Finance Ministry

4. A representative of the United Council for Relief and Welfare
5,6 & 7. Three representatives of the East Punjab Government

In addition, a representative of the Ministry of Health and Dr Koenigsberger should be coopted to the Board as experts.

(2) That the Board set up as under item (1) will be an autonomous body but will function under the ultimate control of the Government of India, working through the Ministry of Rehabilitation. It will be in complete charge of the township and will exercise supervisory authority over the camp. In the camp, however, the Military Commandant will have full authority for administration under the general supervision of the Board.

(3) That a meeting of the Board should be held at an early date to consider all pending matters concerning the township and the camp and to expedite work there. The first meeting of the Board might be held in Delhi so that the Prime Minister might attend the meeting.

4. Col Limaye² gave an account to the Committee of the difficulties he was experiencing in going ahead with his work at the Faridabad camp. He chiefly complained of delays involved in securing materials. It was suggested that if the

2. Commandant, Faridabad camp.

process of going through the normal Government agencies for securing materials required for the camp involved delay, the alternative of placing a certain sum of money at the disposal of Col Limaye should be considered by the Rehabilitation Ministry. By adopting this alternative it was possible that delay in the procurement of materials might be avoided. This proposal was agreed to.

5. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
May 30, 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have just received your letter of the 28th May about Faridabad.² I am exceedingly sorry that I should have done something which does not meet with your approval. When I spoke to you about this matter, I gained the impression that you would be agreeable to accepting the chairmanship of the Faridabad Board. I then proceeded on those lines with our Ministry here, the United Council for Relief and Welfare and the East Punjab Government. Later on, a joint meeting took place at which this was finalised. I would never have committed you in this way, if I had had any doubts on this subject.

I cannot of course press you to accept something which will add to your multifarious duties. I confess however that I am placed in some difficulty. Things have gone so far now that a change at this stage would delay and upset our arrangements. We would have to hold special meetings to think hard about what other arrangements we can make which would be acceptable to the various parties concerned. I would suggest to you, if I may, that you might accept this chairmanship for the present and at a somewhat later stage resign from it, if you feel like doing so then. This would at least not delay matters at this stage. We are at a critical stage now and any delay might prove harmful.

Of course, if you feel you cannot even do this, then I cannot possibly press you.

1. File No. 29(158)/49-PMS.

2. Nehru had written to Rajendra Prasad on 27 May, "You were good enough to agree, at my request, to be the Chairman of the Board we are creating for the Faridabad township project," and informed him that a Board was being constituted with him as Chairman. Expressing his inability to accept the chairmanship, Rajendra Prasad wrote that he had already got too much on his hands and regretted "that I have left an impression on you that I will accept it."

I would like to add, however, that we do not wish to put any undue burden upon you. Perhaps there might be one or two meetings of the Board to discuss certain principles, to begin with. I intend to be present there myself, although I am not a member of the Board. For the rest, the Military Commandant has been given full authority to go ahead. The actual township will not take shape for a considerable time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Meeting of the Faridabad Development Board¹

... The Prime Minister expressed the gratitude of the Board to Dr Rajendra Prasad for having agreed to accept the chairmanship in spite of his preoccupation with other very important work.

The Prime Minister, initiating the discussion, stated that the most important work at Faridabad at this stage was the immediate construction of a large number of mud huts. As the shelter provided by the tents was inadequate in the event of heavy rains it was essential to complete the construction of as many mud huts as possible before the monsoon set in. The Prime Minister had been informed that the displaced persons in Faridabad were very willing to do the work of building the mud huts, which was a welcome feature. The Prime Minister also mentioned that he had always been under the impression that the army was in complete charge of the work at the Faridabad camp but he had been told by Col Limaye that that was not the case.

The Prime Minister said that he was under the impression that this arrangement had already been made with the army and if the position was that such an arrangement had not been made it should be done immediately.² The army can

1. Minutes of the first meeting of the Faridabad Development Board, New Delhi, 10 June 1949. Cabinet Secretariat Papers. Extracts.
2. Colonel Limaye had stated that the army would "very gladly undertake the responsibility of building a few thousand mud huts and render such other services as might be required" if the Government asked them to do so.

be given the full responsibility of running the camp and building the mud huts and organising all other activities in the Faridabad camp in the light of the broad policies enunciated by the Faridabad Development Board and the Ministry of Rehabilitation. The financial implications of all steps taken by the army in connection with their work at Faridabad should be discussed by them with the Rehabilitation Ministry beforehand and the agreement of the Rehabilitation Ministry to all expenditure obtained.³

... The Prime Minister mentioned that a deputation of displaced persons in the Faridabad camp had met him and had pointed out to him that a part of the camp was in a low-lying area and was liable to be flooded during the rains. In the event of an emergency some arrangements had to be made particularly for the children in the camp. The Prime Minister said that he had been informed by the Ministry that this matter was being attended to. There was one building on the Mathura Road near the camp site which had been requisitioned and another school building was available in the event of an emergency and the intention was to move the women and children to these buildings.

Land Acquisition:

... The Prime Minister stated that certain kisans of the Faridabad area had represented to him against the acquisition of land for the town project. He desired to know the latest position in regard to the acquisition proceedings and whether the township could be shifted to some extent to avoid the acquisition of cultivated agricultural land.⁴

... The Prime Minister wished to know if it was possible to give these agriculturists land in exchange instead of cash.⁵

Agency for the Construction of the Township:

The Prime Minister stated that the construction of the township was a big job and he doubted whether the Central P.W.D. or the provincial P.W.D. would be able to execute the job. These organisations had their hands full. He had no doubt that the Board should create its own agency.⁶

3. The Board recommended that the Ministry of Rehabilitation should forthwith enter into the above arrangements with the army authorities and instructed Sudhir Ghosh to take necessary action.
4. P.N. Thapar explained that of an area of 2,600 acres earmarked for the Faridabad township, about 80% was bad quality agricultural land. Of the two hundred affected families, many had land outside the township area.
5. The Board asked the Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon to prepare a scheme for granting land to displaced zamindars in exchange for their land acquired by the government and submit it to the Board at its next meeting.
6. The Board decided to have its own agency to execute the township plans and steps were to be taken to appoint a nucleus technical staff. Until then, the East Punjab P.W.D. would continue to be in charge of the work.

Legislation for the Setting up of the Board:

The Prime Minister felt that there was no urgency in the matter of legislation⁷ and it could perhaps wait for some time.⁸

Industries in Faridabad:

The Prime Minister suggested that a scheme for organising cottage industries at Faridabad should be prepared. For this purpose the assistance of the following should be sought:

1. Dr J.C. Kumarappa
2. Shrimati Kamaladevi
3. Shri S.K. Dey
4. Director of Industries, East Punjab
5. Mr Banerji, U.C.R.W.

... The Prime Minister observed that any decision about the allotment of land to industrialists would depend on the type of industries they desired to set up and the suitability of the N.W.F.P. and Dera Ghazi Khan refugees for employment in such industries. If they were not suitable for such industries then labour would have to be imported from other areas and this would create a new problem.

Educational Facilities:

The Prime Minister stated that education for the children of displaced persons at Faridabad should be on the lines of basic education.⁹

7. It had been suggested that in order to enable the Board to function as a statutory authority, the East Punjab Government might pass legislation creating the Board and defining its powers and duties.
8. It was ultimately decided that as the Board could not enter into contracts to execute township plans without legal sanction, the Central Law Ministry should be consulted on whether legislation was necessary, and, if need be, a draft ordinance be prepared and sent to the East Punjab Government for promulgation.
9. It was decided to invite E.W. Aryanayakam and Asha Devi of Sevagram to organise basic education for children at Faridabad.

3

KASHMIR

1. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
May 10, 1949

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

Last evening I told Bakshi that I shall try to come to Srinagar on the 20th of this month. I am afraid I cannot do so on this date. I found today that a meeting of the All India Congress Committee is being held at Dehra Dun on the 20th and 21st and I must obviously attend it. I hope, however, to visit Srinagar at the end of the following week.

The situation in Kashmir vis-a-vis Pakistan is a little tense and Bakshi no doubt has told you of our answer to the U.N. Commission.² Pakistan continues to indulge in war talk. What will happen, I do not know. But in any event it is not much good worrying and we should always be prepared for any eventuality. Personally, I have a hunch that this Kashmir issue will be settled before this year is out, and settled naturally largely in our favour. That is just a hunch and I will not proceed to argue about it.

When in London, my attention was drawn to your interview with the *Daily Mail* correspondent.³ I was rather taken aback by this and it created a slight sensation among political circles in London. I wish you had not given that interview, because this kind of thing leads to wrong interpretations. On my return here, I found Gopalaswami Ayyangar was also rather upset about it.⁴ A proposal may be worth considering. But you and I happen to be in responsible positions and cannot throw out suggestions in the air. I am afraid the suggestion you made will have a bad effect on the U.N. Commission. We are passing through a very delicate stage in this business and the less we say, the better.

Bakshi will tell you about our talks.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. A reply to the truce proposals of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan was under preparation at this time.
3. It was in fact an interview to Michael Davidson published in the *Scotsman* of 14 April 1949. In this Abdullah declared that "accession to either side cannot bring peace." He preferred friendship and economic cooperation of both the Dominions, but "an independent Kashmir must be guaranteed not only by India and Pakistan but also by Britain, the United States and other members of the United Nations." Independence, and not partition, might be the only solution.
4. Gopalaswami wrote to Patel on 1 May, "A vehement exponent of accession to India seems to have converted to an independent Kashmir." What Abdullah had said "will have the most serious and mischievous consequences both in India and abroad."

2. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
13 May 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter I am sending to Shaikh Abdullah. This will go by air today in order to reach him this evening. Gopalaswami is also, I believe, writing to him and he has sent him a telegram. We have been unable to get in touch through the telephone because of the weather.

I wonder if you have seen a *Tribune* cutting.² The fact that *Tribune* writes in this way, or rather its correspondent from Jammu, is rather significant. Whatever the fact may be, this public discussion of these problems is obviously injurious. The Jammu Praja Parishad is, I believe, exploiting the names of the Maharaja and the Maharani for their own purposes and thus injuring their cause. These Praja Parishad people are extraordinarily narrow-minded and lacking in vision.

I find that the *Dawn* is continually giving extracts from the Jammu papers to show that people in Kashmir State have given up all hope of winning the plebiscite and are in fact sure of losing it; also to show that they condemn Shaikh Abdullah.

I shall come over to your place about six o'clock this evening.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In the *Tribune* of 12 May 1949, its correspondent from Jammu wrote that besides threatening the National Conference workers, the Praja Parishad was exploiting the name of the Maharaja, just as it did in the communal riots in 1947. In the membership campaign, which was reportedly being directed by the Maharani, it was stressed that if the people did not unite under the flag of the Praja Parishad, the Dogras would continue to suffer the rule of the Kashmiris and that Shaikh Abdullah "wants to dethrone Hari Singh and to become himself the Maharaja."

3. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
14 May 1949

My dear Krishna,

Your telegram suggesting that I might write to you. I have, as a matter of fact, already written to you very soon after my return.²

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. See *post*, Section 9, sub-section III, item 2.

I am very much occupied now, not only with the arrears of work but chiefly with Kashmir and the coming session of the Assembly. The Assembly will take up the question of India and the Commonwealth on the very first day. I have no doubt that it will go through. There is not very much active opposition anywhere. Mostly it is a kind of grudging consent, that is, doing something which one does not very much like but which one thinks has nevertheless to be done.

The Kashmir issue is giving us a lot of trouble. The U.N. Commission are not helping us very much. Indeed step by step they are trying to pull us away from our moorings. We have had lengthy discussions with them. We cannot possibly accept their recent proposals.³ The question before us is how exactly to reply to them. Pakistan continues to be in an aggressive mood and undoubtedly there is some risk of war. I do not myself think that this will take place, but we cannot rule it out.

You will remember the point we repeatedly raised in the past about British officers being employed in Pakistan. I do not want you to raise this again, but I want you to keep it in mind in case a new situation develops here. It would be highly objectionable if these British officers in the army, navy and air force directed operations against India. I am quite sure in my mind that much of our trouble with Pakistan is due to the presence of British officers there, both in the civil government and in the defence forces.

A bigger headache in regard to Kashmir is the internal situation there. Shaikh Abdullah, an excellent man and a very effective popular leader, rather lacks political foresight and has a knack of saying the wrong thing. He is influenced greatly by odd groups. His recent interviews in the British press about the independence of Kashmir have irritated me very much. He is coming here with some of his colleagues tonight for full discussions...

It is rather hot here now and there is a great deal of grousing and complaining. Personally I do not mind and am quite fit.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. The truce terms announced by the U.N.C.I.P. on 28 April prescribed a ceasefire line based on the factual position of the forces in January 1949 and withdrawal of tribesmen and Pakistan nationals from Kashmir to be followed by withdrawal by Pakistan of its troops and by India of the bulk of its forces from the State. India could be asked to post garrisons at specified points in the northern region for its defence if the Commission deemed it necessary. It was also stipulated that the question of the disposal of the Indian and State armed forces in the territory to be evacuated by Pakistan troops would be taken up in consultation with India and the local authorities respectively immediately upon the acceptance of the terms.

4. Kashmir Refugees and POWs in Pakistan¹

I have your note about Dr Lozano's visit. I hope that this matter will be finalised tomorrow and a letter or letters sent to them.

2. We discussed with the Commission people questions relating to their proposals. Sometimes some reference is made to the surrounding circumstances. These circumstances are however very important. Among these is the continued detention of a large number of refugees by Pakistan or the 'Azad Kashmir' Government. It is estimated that the civil refugees number 15,000 to 20,000 and there are several hundred prisoners of war, mostly Kashmir State forces. Soon after the ceasefire, there was a proposal to exchange the prisoners and send back the refugees from Kashmir, nearly all Hindus or Sikhs. The Pakistan Army Commander-in-Chief, Gracey,² agreed and all arrangements were under way, when suddenly Pakistan stopped this business and proposed that an exchange should take place head for head. Since then nothing has been done, except a continuing correspondence.

3. Meanwhile reports reach us of inhuman treatment of the civil refugees. Our Deputy High Commissioner in Lahore³ has brought gruesome tales of how they have been terrorised into saying that they like 'Azad Kashmir'. It is stated that some were shot and some were badly injured and maimed for their refusal to say so. Also that some women were dishonoured.

4. Recently about fifty refugee men and women managed to escape from the camp and came to Lahore. Our Deputy High Commissioner got into touch with them and promptly sent them to India. The stories they told of the treatment they had suffered were gruesome. Soon after some Pathans turned up in pursuit of these womenfolk and claimed them on the ground that they had been allotted to each of them as his share. The story told was that each Pathan who had been raiding Kashmir was allowed his pick of ten women, one to keep and nine to sell or otherwise dispose of. Many had in fact taken these away. These particular women had somehow escaped to Lahore and had been pursued by the Pathans who claimed them as their property.

5. This type of story makes one feel a little sick. Why, in any event, civil refugees should be kept in this way, is not clear to me. Even during military operations they should have been sent away to India, where they wanted to go, or to those parts of Kashmir which are occupied by us. After the ceasefire their

1. Note to the Secretary General, M.E.A. Undated. May 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Douglas David Gracey.
3. Y.K. Puri.

detention becomes still more indefensible. We are informed that they have been kept by Gurmani,⁴ who is in charge on behalf of Pakistan of all matters relating to Kashmir, in order to demonstrate to the Commission how happy Kashmiri Hindus are in 'Azad Kashmir'.

6. With this background (and other accounts of this type reach us from time to time), it is difficult to view any future arrangement with equanimity, unless it is air-tight and not liable to misuse or misinterpretation. I think these matters should be brought to the notice of Dr Lozano and Mr Samper.⁵ Surely it should be the business of the Commission to go into the matter of civil prisoners thoroughly. Unless these simple matters are dealt with to our satisfaction, how can we possibly have the slightest faith in Pakistan doing the right thing in future.

4. Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmani was the Pakistan Minister for 'Kashmir Affairs' at this time.
 5. Hernando Samper.

5. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
 18 May 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

V.P. Menon showed me your suggestions for correcting Gopalaswami's draft about Kashmir. Those suggestions have been incorporated. I have, however, changed the phraseology somewhat, simply with a view to better drafting. I enclose a copy of the letter which I am sending to Shaikh Abdullah.

I hope that this will be an end to the squabbles that have been going on in public. This has been impressed upon Shaikh Abdullah and I am pointing this out to him again in a separate letter.

I take it that the Maharaja and the Maharani will keep out of the State, as agreed upon, for some months. The Bombay house will be at their disposal. It would have been better if they had gone out of the country for a period, say two or three months, but that is a matter for them to decide. I do not think any period should be fixed for the Maharaja's absence from Kashmir. The matter had better be left vague.

The Maharani naturally dislikes intensely the idea of being away from her son. I do not think it is necessary for her to be kept absolutely away and she can certainly visit her son later from time to time. But for the present, I think, it would be to

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 1, p. 274.

the advantage of all concerned, including the Maharaja and the Maharani, for both of them to stay away for a while.

I hope you will explain to the Maharaja and the Maharani as well as the Yuvaraj the agreements arrived at between us and Shaikh Abdullah and his colleagues. The written agreement rightly does not say anything about the Maharaja going out of the State. But this was a private assurance given by us and we have naturally to stand by it.

I am thinking of going to Srinagar for two days on Saturday, 28 May.

I shall see you of course next Friday evening at about 7.30.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

6. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
18 May 1949

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

In the course of the talks at Sardar Patel's residence on the 15th and 16th May 1949, between some of my colleagues and me and you and your colleagues, important issues raised by you in regard to the future of the Jammu and Kashmir State were discussed.

2. Among the subjects that were discussed were:

- (i) The framing of a constitution for the State;
- (ii) The subjects in respect of which the State should accede to the Union of India;
- (iii) The monarchical form of government in the State;
- (iv) The control of the State forces; and
- (v) The rights of the citizens of the State to equality of opportunity for service in the Indian Army.

3. As regards (i) and (iii), it has been the settled policy of the Government of India, which, on many occasions, has been stated both by Sardar Patel and me, that the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir State is a matter for determination by the people of the State represented in a Constituent Assembly convened for the purpose. In the special circumstances of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the Government of India have no objection to the Constituent Assembly of the State

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 1, pp. 276-277.

considering the question of the continuance of the association of the State with a constitutional monarchy.

4. In regard to (ii), the Jammu and Kashmir State now stands acceded to the Indian Union in respect of three subjects, namely, foreign affairs, defence and communications. It will be for the Constituent Assembly of the State, when convened, to determine in respect of what other subjects the State may accede.

5. Regarding (iv), both the operational and administrative control over the State forces has already, with the consent of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir State, been taken over by the Indian Army. The final arrangements in this connection, for the duration of the present emergency, including financial responsibility for the expenditure involved, were agreed to between us on the 16th instant.

6. As regards (v), the citizens of the State will have equality of opportunity for service in the Indian Army. Under Article 10 of the draft of the new Constitution, as passed by the Constituent Assembly of India, equality of opportunity for employment under the State, including employment in the Indian Army, is declared to be amongst the fundamental rights of all Indian citizens.

7. I trust that the Government of India's position, as stated above, will give you the clarification that you have asked for.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
May 18, 1949

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

I have sent you under separate registered cover my formal letter regarding the conversations we have had about the important issues raised by you concerning the future of Jammu and Kashmir State. I enclose a copy of this herewith.²

Now that these matters have been settled to our mutual satisfaction, I would earnestly suggest to you and to your colleagues to avoid raising personal and controversial issues in public. I am quite sure that it will be to your advantage,

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

and to Kashmir's advantage, if in future we concentrate on other matters and direct public attention to them. Courtesy and generosity always pay and it is worthwhile to set high standards in regard to them. You being the unquestioned leader of Kashmir have to set these standards firstly for your colleagues and then for the rest of the population. I would even suggest to avoid too much condemnation of Pakistan, though occasionally some criticism is inevitable. I suggest this to raise the whole tone of public life.

As I have told you, I have every intention of visiting Srinagar for two days. I shall try to arrive there at 9.30 a.m. on Saturday, 28th May, and return early in the morning on Monday. The persons who accompany me probably will be Indira, Lady Nye,³ G.S. Bajpai, Mathai⁴ and Yunus.⁵ I shall let you know more definitely as to who is coming.

As for engagements, I would beg of you not to have any feasting or many engagements. I should love to stay at Chashmashahi house. If my party is too big for that (I would not like to disturb Maulana at Chashmashahi), some may stay elsewhere.

I am prepared to address our soldiers if Thimayya⁶ so wants. I am also prepared to address a public meeting, if you so desire. That is entirely for you to decide. I am not keen on it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Colleen Nye, wife of Sir Archibald Nye, High Commissioner of the U.K.
4. M.O. Mathai, Special Assistant to Nehru.
5. Mohammad Yunus.
6. K.S. Thimayya, commander of the Indian troops in Kashmir.

8. To V.P. Menon¹

New Delhi
May 18, 1949

My dear V.P.,

I have changed the draft somewhat purely from the point of view of language. The content remains what had been decided upon. I am sending this to Shaikh Abdullah and I enclose a copy of this letter.² I am sending a copy of this to Sardar Patel also.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. See *ante*, item 6.

Although this draft does not contain anything about the Maharaja keeping out of the State for some time, this private assurance was given by us to Shaikh Abdullah and we have to carry it out. We need not fix a period, and although the Maharani will also go with the Maharaja, there will be no difficulty in her coming from time to time to see her son. But I think it is important that to begin with both of them should keep out of the State. The best course would be for them to go abroad. But if they do not like this, they can stay in their Bombay house.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Integration of Kashmir¹

The whole picture of India and the map of India has completely changed in regard to the Indian States. They have all undergone major changes: some have been merged into the adjoining provinces, a large number have joined together in forming Unions and a few still remain as separate entities but with the beginnings of democratic government. Progress in this direction has been so rapid that many adjustments could not keep pace with it and now internal problems have arisen. Nevertheless, it may be said that we are going fast towards consolidating this new position in regard to the States and making them completely integral parts of India and the Indian Republic which will take shape soon.

2. Two major States remain to be dealt with—Hyderabad and Kashmir. Each of these presents an entirely different type of problem. In Hyderabad this problem is twofold: how to deal with anti-social elements which have so long terrorised certain border districts, and how to change over the present provisional administration into a democratic form of government. Also how to liquidate the reactionary forces. Considerable progress has been made in Hyderabad by the provisional government which, it may be added, is not a military government, although the Governor is a high military officer.²

1. Note, 21 May 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Since 18 September 1948 the administration of Hyderabad was under Major-General J.N. Chaudhury as Military Governor. A *firman* promulgated by the Nizam invested him with full executive authority and powers to issue regulations having the force of law. He was assisted by a Civil Administrator.

3. In Kashmir we have faced war and we have dealt with the Security Council of the United Nations. The problem, therefore, is an extraordinarily intricate one in which both national and international considerations have arisen. At the beginning of this year there was a ceasefire which we naturally welcomed. But that ceasefire has not resulted in the real peace that we hoped for and there have been numerous violations on the part of Pakistan of the line laid down between the opposing forces. We have all along agreed to the people of Kashmir deciding their own future and it was in this connection that a plebiscite was accepted. But it has been made clear that a real plebiscite can only take place under certain conditions which will enable the people of Kashmir to express their opinions freely. It is known that a large number of the people of Kashmir are refugees. They have to return and be rehabilitated. They cannot return till security is assured to them. There can be no security for them, and therefore no return, so long as Pakistan forces or their auxiliaries are in possession of these areas. It becomes essential, therefore, not only that the Pakistan forces should withdraw completely, but also that there should be complete disbandment and disarmament of all their allied and auxiliary forces in these areas and that the civil government should be fair and impartial and such as produces a feeling of confidence in the people.

4. During the conflicts and arguments of the past year and a half, people are apt to forget the origin of this trouble. Yet it is most important that this should be kept in mind, for it governs the whole situation. Kashmir State was suddenly and brutally attacked by raiders from the north-west who looted and killed and destroyed. A cry of distress and an appeal for help came to India from the Ruler as well as the people of Kashmir. After earnest thought the Government of India felt that it could not possibly allow this brutal aggression to continue and immediate steps were taken at great risk to combat it. Kashmir acceded to the Indian Union and military operations in defence of Kashmir State were undertaken. The Government of India accused Pakistan of aiding and abetting, and indeed of organising, this raid. Pakistan denied this completely and went on denying it for months and months even before the Security Council. We pointed out that not only were they organising and helping the tribal raiders but that even their own regular armies were functioning in Kashmir State. This too was denied. Long afterwards, when the Commission appointed by the Security Council was in India, it became quite impossible for the Pakistan authorities to hide the fact of their armies being present in Kashmir. They admitted it then.

5. Quite apart from subsequent happenings, the major fact that must be kept in mind is, therefore, this that on every legal, international or moral ground Pakistan stands condemned. They stand condemned by their own denials and admissions.

6. Even so, the Government of India have sought peace, subject always to the basic principles for which they stood. That peace can never come if it is based on untruth, immorality and acceptance of brutal aggression.

7. So far as we are concerned, Kashmir is a State which has acceded to the Indian Union on three subjects, namely, defence, foreign affairs and communications. We must discharge our duty by defending Kashmir from aggression and allowing the will of the people to prevail. We have been parties to the establishment of a democratic regime in Kashmir which is cooperating with the Government of India. We are convinced that Kashmir's future lies with India. It will be for the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir, whenever it meets, to draw its constitution. That constitution will necessarily be based on the accession of Kashmir to India on the three subjects mentioned above. Any further arrangements will have to be by mutual consent.

8. There have been rumours of a division of Kashmir. It should be clearly understood that we do not approve of any such division of the State or any appeasement of an aggressor.

9. A recent statement made by the Prime Minister of Kashmir that Kashmir might be an independent country has given rise to a great deal of surprise and confusion in the minds of many people. Shaikh Abdullah, the Prime Minister of Kashmir, has himself clarified the position by a subsequent statement.³ It seems obvious that Kashmir cannot function with real independence, situated where she is, and any attempt to keep it as an independent area between great countries will lead to continuous conflict and difficulty and Kashmir will never settle down to a normal life. Much less will it progress as it can do with great rapidity because of its resources. Therefore, it is clear that the future of Kashmir lies as an autonomous unit of this Indian Union or, if I may say so, of the Indian Republic that is coming soon. Let there be no doubt about this or any confusion or vagueness about this future. That future is tied up with India and any other future for Kashmir is unthinkable for us.

10. The issue of Kashmir, therefore, raises not only the questions of what is good for the people of Kashmir and India and the rest of the world, but certain basic fundamental issues of international probity and morality. No satisfactory decision can be made except in the light of those basic issues.

3. Abdullah said on 17 May that the alternative of independence "may be and is a charming idea but on consideration meaningless." Kashmir still thought of no alternative other than accession to India.

10. Peace: A Framework in Kashmir¹

I want to make it clear that India will not forego her rights over Kashmir in the event of any threat or hue and cry from the other side. Although India is committed to a plebiscite, peace is an essential prerequisite for a plebiscite in Kashmir.

No plebiscite is possible in Kashmir before the refugees are rehabilitated. So long as the raiders, who have driven out Kashmiris from their hearths and homes, remain in parts of Kashmir, the return of refugees to those areas cannot be expected. Till they return and settle down in their homes, how can you expect them to express their free will?

I want to add further that violations of the ceasefire agreement by Pakistan have endangered the restoration of peace in Kashmir. We do not want conflict but we cannot deviate from our declared policy. We did not submit to force and we will not be cowed down by threats.

The price of freedom and progress is blood, sweat and tears. We have paid the price of our freedom in blood. For our future progress we have to pay that price in tears and sweat. Our generation is condemned to hard labour. We have to build up a nation which has remained backward and have to make India great.

The greatness of a nation does not depend on military strength alone but on the kind of life people lead. We have attained political independence but it will be worthless unless we progress economically.

Our country's problems cannot be solved through governmental action alone. The government needs full cooperation from the people. If you cooperate with us we will solve our food and other problems within the next two or three years.

There is labour unrest today in our country. However, coercion, whether used by labour or by capitalists, will not solve the problem. The Government of India does not want any strike or lock-out during this critical period but that does not mean that it wants to deny labour of its rights.

India's stature has gone up in the eyes of the world and this has cast on us new responsibilities. As India's Minister for External Affairs it will be my constant effort to contribute to world peace.

I cannot forget my jail life in Dehra Dun during our struggle for freedom. I cannot remember the number of years I was forced to spend here. I had more peace and quiet as a prisoner than I have now as the Prime Minister of India.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Dehra Dun, 22 May 1949. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindustan Times*, 23 May 1949.

11. Representation of Kashmir in the Constituent Assembly¹

Sir, this very simple motion of my honourable colleague² has led some Members to refer to almost all connected matters, not with this motion, but in regard to Kashmir, and so we have been led to think of this vast and intricate and difficult problem of Kashmir. It is a little difficult in this context to confine oneself to the simple proposition that has been placed before the House. Nevertheless, I do not intend to go beyond that proposition; nor do I think need this House go beyond it although several Members may be tempted to do so.

The proposition before the House is a very simple one. Now, may I say that I have a vast admiration for the erudition and learning of Professor Shah. Nevertheless, I have followed with some surprise not only what he has said today³ but what he has said and done in regard to Kashmir for a number of years. I have been also connected with Kashmir in many ways and, in a sense, I belong to Kashmir more particularly than to any other part of India. I have been connected with the fight for freedom in Kashmir and I know about the various groups, various people, various individuals from the Maharaja down to humbler folk there. And so, if I venture to say anything in this House, I do so with far greater authority than Prof. Shah can presume to have on the subject. I speak not as the Prime Minister, but as a Kashmiri and an Indian who has been connected with these matters. It amazed me to hear Prof. Shah propose that the so-called Praja Sabha of Kashmir should send representatives to this House. If Prof. Shah knows anything about Kashmir, he should know that there is nothing more bogus than the Praja Sabha in Kashmir.⁴ He ought to know that the whole circumstances under which the last elections were held were fantastic and farcical. He ought to know that it was

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly in the course of debate on a motion by Gopalaswami Ayyangar for addition of paragraph 4-A to the Schedule to the Assembly Rules, 27 May 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India Debates, Official Report*, Vol. VIII, 16 May to 16 June 1949, pp. 371-372.
2. Gopalaswami Ayyangar's motion read: "... all the seats in the Constituent Assembly allotted to the State of Kashmir may be filled by nomination and the representatives of the State to be chosen to fill such seats may be nominated by the Ruler of Kashmir on the advice of his Prime Minister."
3. K.T. Shah by an amendment moved that the Praja Sabha (Legislative Assembly) of the State should elect the representatives of the State pending the result of the proposed plebiscite.
4. The Praja Sabha of Kashmir, inaugurated by the Maharaja in 1934 as a concession to the demand for democratic rule, consisted of 75 members of whom only 33 were elected. It had severely restricted powers.

boycotted by all decent people in Kashmir⁵. It was held in the depth of winter to avoid people going to the polling booths. And winter in Kashmir is something of which probably Members in this House have no conception. An honourable Member asked me about winter, and whether it was a snowing. But when it snows in a cold country, it is called warm weather. In winter it is 20 to 30 degrees below snowing weather. The election was held when the roads were impassable, when the passes could not be crossed; in fact, it was just not possible for the voters to go. But apart from that, when the National Conference of Kashmir, in spite of difficulties, difficulties including that of their leaders being in prison, including Shaikh Abdullah and others, in spite of all that, when they decided to contest these elections, then their candidates were arrested, many of them, and all kinds of obstacles were put in; and it was quite clear that they would not be allowed to stand. So they decided to boycott it and they did boycott it, with the result that the whole national movement of Kashmir boycotted those elections, just as the national movement in 1920 boycotted elections in India. And it was an amazingly successful boycott. Of course, people got in. By boycotting you cannot keep another man out; but the percentage of voting was so very small—I forget the exact fraction—it was almost negligible; and the type of people who got in were the type who had opposed the freedom movement throughout, who had done every injury possible to the idea of the freedom of Kashmir till then. And subsequently some of them, when Kashmir adopted this new status and became much freer than it ever was, they subsequently sought refuge in Pakistan. Now that is the kind of body referred to; it is a bogus body; it is really no body at all. It is a disembodied spirit, it does not meet, it does not do anything, and many of its members are not just traceable. And now Prof. Shah calmly tells that the Praja Sabha can elect Members to this honourable House; it is a monstrous proposition.

I admit that it is not desirable for any Member of this House to come by nomination or be selected by some narrow process; but unfortunately many of us here, from the States I mean, have not come exactly as we should have liked them to come. They have been sent partly by nomination, partly by election by bodies which are not often properly constituted; but we had to take things as they were, and we wanted them here to help us in this work of constitution-making. So, though the process suggested for Kashmir is not ideal, yet I do think that it is a better process than has been adopted in regard to many States in India. It is a process where you get a popular government, with the representative of the popular party as the head of it, recommending to the Ruler that certain names should go. Even from the point of view of democracy, that is not an incorrect process. It is not

5. Elections to the Praja Sabha held in January 1947 were boycotted by the National Conference. While only 182,000 voters out of 607,419 turned out to cast their votes, the Muslim Conference secured 16 out of 21 seats reserved for Muslims.

100 per cent correct. But the House should see what better method you can suggest. I can understand Maulana Hasrat Mohani,⁶ and I am inclined to agree with him that it would have been—if I heard him correctly—it would have been better and more graceful for us to have had the representatives of Kashmir here much earlier. But we did not do it. It was our fault, maybe it was other people's fault; but whatever the reason, we did not do it. But is that a reason why we should continue the error in the future? During the next two or three months, or however long this House meets, when we are going to finalise this Constitution, it is desirable for us to give every opportunity to the representatives of the Kashmir State and of any other State to come here and participate, even though they have not done so up to this stage. So I submit that the motion moved by Mr Ayyangar is the only way out of this difficulty.

I would suggest to him and beg of him to accept a small change in the wording of the motion. What he has put down is perfectly correct; he has put down "Kashmir", as it occurs in the various Acts, etc. He has taken it naturally from these enactments. But because there is a slight confusion in people's minds, it would be better to describe it a little more fully as "Kashmir State", and then putting within brackets the words "otherwise known as the State of Kashmir and Jammu". No doubt, so far as the proposition that people should be entitled to come from Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, I think it is up to us to give them every opportunity to do so. And secondly, so far as the method is concerned, I can think of no other, and no fairer, method than what has been proposed in this motion.

6. In fact, Hasrat Mohani said that Nehru had only recently made up his mind that Kashmir's accession to India was complete without a plebiscite and added that the status of the Kashmir Government still remained undecided. He contended that it was premature for the Maharaja to nominate representatives "unless and until you decide the status of the Kashmir Government and the status of the Maharaja."

12. India Determined to Defend Kashmir¹

Our troops in Kashmir have raised the prestige of India in the eyes of the world. You have also proved that the Indian Army is equal to any other army in the world.

1. Address to the officers and men of the Indian Army at Srinagar, 28 May 1949. From the *National Herald*, 29 May 1949.

By your action you have demonstrated to the people of India how best to maintain communal unity and strengthen national unity.

While India is engaged in consolidating her freedom, she has to face many problems. The biggest among them is the Kashmir problem. About sixteen months back Kashmir was attacked by raiders who indulged in an orgy of bloodshed and looting. Kashmir asked India for help. From the military point of view it was a most difficult problem. Every minute was precious as we had to rush our troops and supplies to protect the people of Kashmir against the invaders.

There is another aspect of the problem. Kashmir is part of our land and if we had not helped our people, who had been bound with us for centuries and who were in difficulties, then we would have lowered the prestige of India. So taking an immediate decision we came to the rescue of Kashmir.

The history of this epic struggle has been written by the people of Kashmir in their own blood for in the beginning they faced the invasion without any arms. The Kashmir operation is a fight for the freedom of India and Kashmir. The attack on Kashmir is against all laws of international relations. There are laws even of war. An attack by dacoits and thieves cannot be a war. If people are allowed to raid neighbouring countries then no nation can protect its freedom.

Our participation in the Kashmir struggle is a great and noble task. It has raised the prestige of India. Fighting in abnormal weather conditions and in hilly terrain has given great experience to Indian troops. We have made mistakes but we have also shown our capacity to face stupendous tasks, and with firm determination we have completed the task of helping the people of Kashmir.

The fundamental issue is whether religion can be the basis of nationalism. The mischief started by the imperialists of dividing Indians bore fruit and the Muslim League succeeded in dividing the country on the basis of its claim that India was not one nation. In a nation all countrymen are bound together by the common bond of citizenship, irrespective of any religion.

If Pakistan's ideology is accepted the whole country will be divided into watertight compartments. India does not adhere to that ideology and, therefore, there are crores of Muslims who are living here in peace and in honour. Pakistan has claimed Kashmir on the basis that Muslims are in a great majority here. India has refused to recognise the claim of Pakistan and the people of Kashmir have to give a suitable reply to this challenge drawn up by Pakistan. In the past the people of Kashmir never attached any importance to the ideology of communal separatism of the Muslim League. Ten years back when the Muslim League raised this slogan the people of Kashmir under the leadership of Shaikh Abdullah fought against this vicious doctrine. Mr Jinnah who personally came to Kashmir failed to find any following.

Every nation has to pay the price of freedom by blood, sweat and tears. We have paid the price for our freedom in blood but now we have to build up the

country with our sweat and tears. India is determined to defend Kashmir until the threat to the State's peace and security is removed beyond its boundaries. India will never accept Pakistan's claim to Kashmir which is based on the two-nation theory. Separate electorates which had divided the Indian people are being abolished under the new Constitution. The old vices of separatism have been taken out of our politics and now we have to take it out of our minds.

The great problem before India is the liquidation of poverty and the problem will have to be solved by the cooperation of all the people. I make a strong appeal for communal unity. We must take a lesson from our past history when India had fallen several times because of disunity amongst her people. We should not forget that all of us are in the same boat, and if the boat capsizes we will all be drowned.

13. The Present and the Future¹

Sher-e-Kashmir,² brothers and sisters of Kashmir, What should I talk to you about and in what capacity? I am an old colleague of yours and have been associated with you, from a distance, in the struggle for freedom which has been going on in Kashmir for the last so many years. I have always taken a keen interest in freedom struggles everywhere, in every part of India. In particular I have been emotionally involved with the freedom movement in Kashmir since it started about fifteen or sixteen years ago. You may be aware that I have had a long association with *Sher-e-Kashmir* under the banner of the All India States People's Conference, an organisation which fought for independence in the Indian States. Secondly, as a Kashmiri, I love Kashmir. Though I seldom get an opportunity to come here, my heart is always here.

I have come to Kashmir in my individual capacity as Jawaharlal Nehru, and also as the Prime Minister of India. I may not be a very great man but the post of the Prime Minister is a very great one. So if I speak in that capacity, I speak from a position of responsibility and authority, because it is not the voice of an individual, but that of a great nation and its Government. In which capacity should I speak to you? It is obvious that I cannot divide myself into various compartments, and therefore there will be a certain overlapping of all the capacities in which I function.

1. Speech at a public meeting at Srinagar, 29 May 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi), and the *National Herald*, 30 May 1949.
2. 'The lion of Kashmir', as Shaikh Abdullah was popularly known.

Yesterday I came to Kashmir after nearly six months. I wanted to come earlier but some urgent problems and weather conditions postponed my visit. I have to discuss with all of you some of the problems facing Kashmir, because we have to tackle the tasks before us after giving careful thought to them. Shaikh Saheb said just now that the relationship between him and me, between Kashmir and me, and Kashmir and India could never be broken. This is wholly true. You may remember my visit to Kashmir a year and a half ago in November 1947. A few days earlier the attack on Kashmir had taken place. During that visit, at a well-attended public meeting in this city of Srinagar, Shaikh Saheb and I shook hands and made a pledge to each other.³ It was not merely a pledge between the two of us; it was much more significant. To me it was a pledge to Kashmir and India. I know that I have a number of shortcomings and weaknesses, but so far as I know I have never broken a pledge and I want to assure you that in this matter also the pledge made by me and India will never be broken. As the *Sher-e-Kashmir* said, no force in this world can break this bond between us. No external force can break it. External forces may succeed in breaking the bonds of ropes and chains but how can anyone break the bond of hearts? That bond can break only if the heart fails. Therefore it is not in the hands of any external force to break that bond—it rests entirely with you and me.

Six months have passed and in these six months many things have happened in India, especially in Kashmir. About four and a half months ago the fighting that was going on here was stopped and a ceasefire was announced. But as you know the problem yet remains to be solved. It drags on because it is a complicated problem. It is not merely a matter of fighting which involves courage. It is obvious that every nation has to remain fully prepared at all times to defend its freedom. But sometimes matters become complicated and those who do not understand the intricacies of a problem often are carried away by trivialities, and they give in to panic, become scared when they hear rumours, and come to strange conclusions. I have heard that the bazaars of Srinagar are often rife with rumours. There are always some people who whisper and other people who are willing to listen to them. I am sure that such people whose sole aim is to provoke people can be found in Srinagar also. They are to be found in every country and they thrive especially when there is fighting and tension. The question is, how strong are you in mind and body, and why do you succumb so easily to panic and fear on the basis of some rumours? This is not the way a strong country deals with its problems.

In the last twenty one months India has had to face enormous problems, almost from the moment the bells had tolled for our freedom and, in a sense, the labour of generations had borne fruit. It was unfortunate that those very bells also tolled for strife, riots and bloodshed. Who are to be blamed or who are not to be blamed,

3. For this pledge taken on 11 November 1947, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 4, pp. 321-322.

it is for you to ponder about later, but all of us are to be blamed in a sense. Anyhow, we had to face these difficulties. Our enemies in distant countries were feeling happy at our discomfort and questioned whether our actions justified our freedom. They doubted our capability or strength to sustain our freedom. Our friends were perturbed by these events which we had to shoulder. Were our grandiloquent dreams destined to remain mere dreams and was the reality going to prove something quite different? All these terrible, frightening pictures came to our minds. But we faced them bravely. It was our good fortune that in the beginning, for four or five months, we had our great captain, Mahatma Gandhi, with us and his presence gave us strength and courage, and ultimately we were able to overcome these problems. Our enemies who had rejoiced earlier at our troubles were surprised at the manner in which we succeeded in overcoming enormous problems. We progressed step by step and have gradually gained strength. We have solved many of the country's problems, though many big problems still remain unsolved. We are living in revolutionary times and there are changes every day. These are revolutionary times not only for Kashmir or for the whole of India, but even for the world; and everything in it is topsy turvy. No one knows in what shape the world will be five or ten years hence, and we have no control over that. But it is our duty at least to take care of our country, to keep it safe, to strengthen it and raise the status of our people so that with that increased strength we can serve the world and try to maintain peace in the world.

As you know, we fought for a long time for our freedom. Our method of struggle, as taught by Mahatma Gandhi, was a strange and a unique one. We could not attain his stature because we were small men but his teachings and personality had a tremendous impact on us, and we moved forward on the path shown by him. Sometimes we slipped and fell, sometimes we were led astray. But Gandhiji had infused so much strength in us that we could get up again and move forward. So we followed that path and ultimately attained freedom.

During our freedom struggle the Congress repeatedly affirmed that we had no colonial ambition and that we wanted India to be free. We desired also that the enslaved countries of the world should be free and self-governing. We wanted all countries of Asia, our neighbours, who were crushed by imperialism, to be free. We associated our freedom struggle with those of the other downtrodden, colonised countries of the world. It was not our principle to fight for our independence alone while other countries of the world continued to remain enslaved and ruined.

Therefore when India became free, we continued to adhere to our principles, that is, we wished neither to attack any other country, nor interfere in its freedom. On the other hand, we wanted all countries which were not free to become independent. Why? First of all, we feel that freedom is good for everyone. Secondly, as long as nations continue to remain in bondage, there can be no hope of peace in the world, and the danger of big wars would continue because imperialism is the root cause of all wars. We are adhering to our old principles firmly though the

world has changed, but when we have to face complicated problems today it becomes difficult to solve them and at the same time also continue maintaining those principles. Sometimes I doubt whether I am following the principles and the path as per the pledge I made to Mahatma Gandhi or on his behalf to the nation. But circumstances force us to take steps one by one when no other way is possible. But we try to follow the principles taught by Mahatma Gandhi, so that in case we make mistakes, we can control the situation.

It was a great tragedy that we had to get involved in a war with Pakistan because of Kashmir soon after independence. It was painful to us because we had challenged an empire by nonviolent methods, an empire which had ruled over us for nearly 200 years. Consequently through an agreement India became free and we got our independence through friendship and not enmity. In most cases when there is a war between two countries, whoever wins, it leaves behind bitterness and enmity and the matter does not end there. But Mahatma Gandhi's method showed us the way to get what we wanted, to maintain our honour and at the same time to see to it that it left no traces of bitterness or enmity behind. We have an example to show to the world of achieving full independence for India without any lingering bitterness with the British people or with Britain. It is possible that on some issues our views may differ but we can follow what is right for us and they can follow their own policies. Our old enmity shall not dictate our policies towards the issues of today. In this we are fortunate because it is difficult to have a true perception of the issues of the world if one gets tied down to old rivalries and bitterness.

You are aware of the result. It was decided that after India got her independence we would continue to have an Englishman as our Head of the State till such time as we chose our own Head of State or became a republic and followed a democratic tradition. Our relationship with the British was purely a procedural one and that also came to an end when we appointed an Indian as Governor General.⁴ We made it clear to the British that we would gladly continue to have friendly relations with them, provided there was no interference on either side in internal matters. This decision was an honourable one and in keeping with the dignity of our country. At the same time it had no adverse effect on anyone. Decisions which do not harm anyone and at the same time maintain the dignity of both sides are always correct decisions. Why should we unnecessarily demean others or show bitterness towards them? In every way this was a good decision and we have set an example to the world how big issues and problems can be solved.

India is a great nation. It is big in size. If you take her population, it is one-fifth of the total world population. But countries do not become great by size or by the physical strength of their people. It is obvious that if people have discipline, courage, strength, intelligence, wisdom and capability, they will make their country

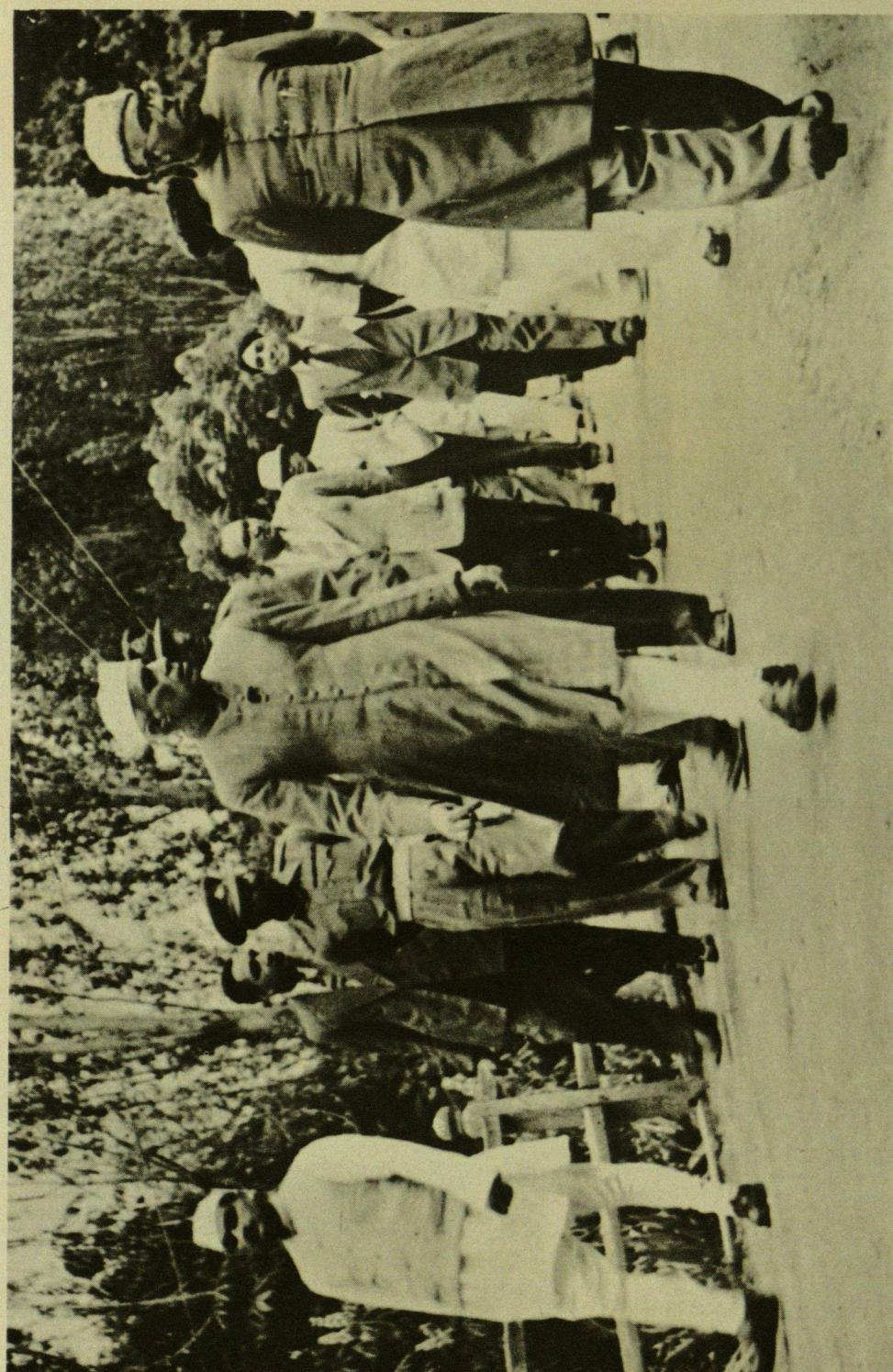
4. C. Rajagopalachari took over from Lord Mountbatten on 21 June 1948.



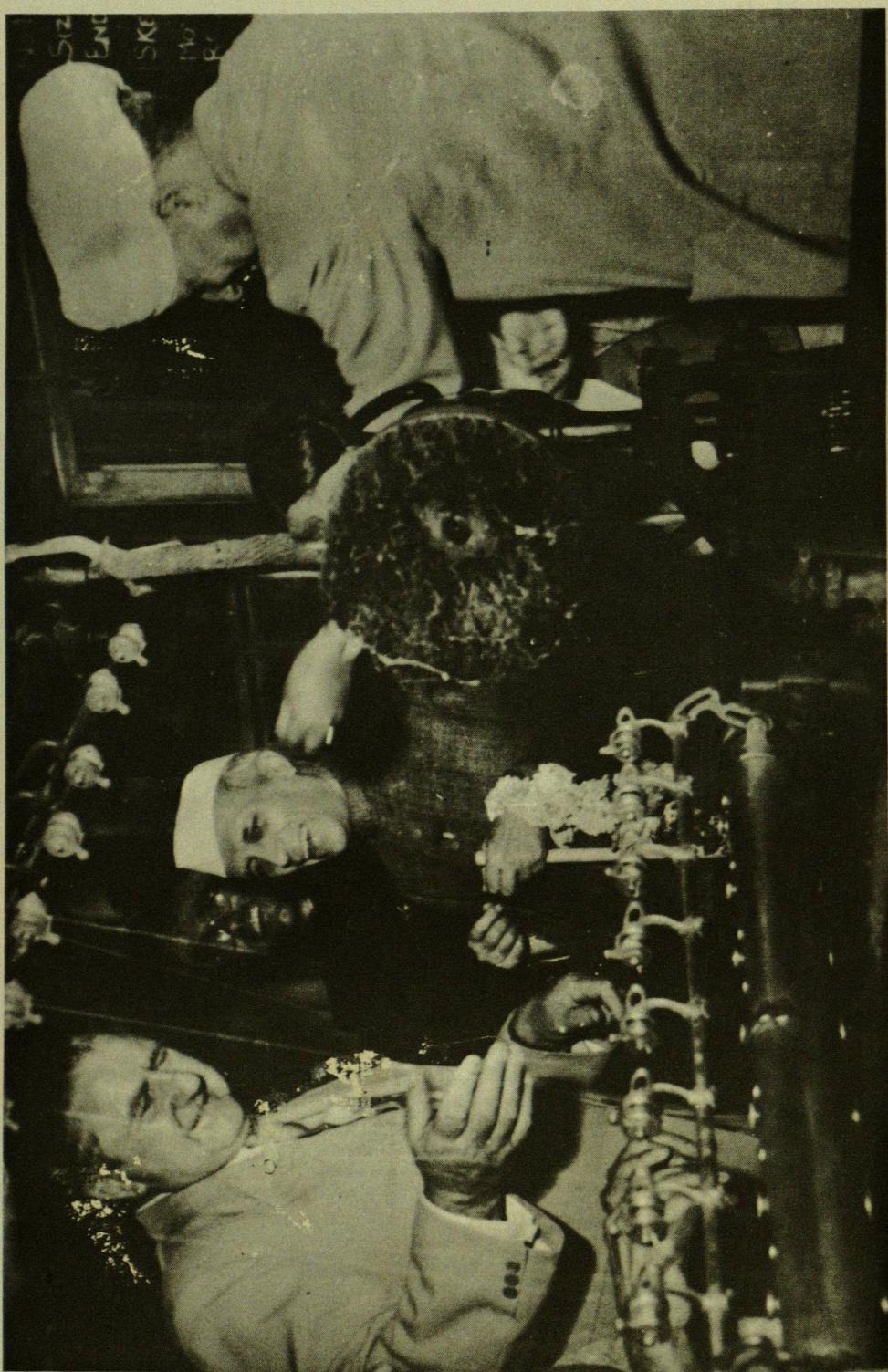
AT GOVERNMENT SILK FACTORY, SRINAGAR, 29 MAY 1949



WITH S.M. ABDULLAH AND WORKERS OF GOPALPUR FARM, SRINAGAR, 29 MAY 1949



ON THE BANKS OF THE JHELUM WITH S.M. ABDULLAH AND OTHERS, SRINAGAR, 28 MAY 1949



VISITING A SILK FACTORY, SRINAGAR, 29 MAY 1949

great. But mere numbers do not make any country great. India has had a large population over the last hundred to hundred and fifty years, yet we were enslaved by another country and could not become free. Greatness comes to a nation if her people are great, when the people are large-hearted and are capable of doing great things. Britain, a small island-nation, ruled over large parts of the world and became very rich by amassing wealth from the rest of the world. We fought against it because it was ruling over us and finally we attained freedom. But you must remember that a small nation like Britain could expand all over the world, because it had certain qualities of mind and heart, of courage and strength. If a big country had such strength and courage it could become a great power. Therefore we have to generate these qualities in our country in order to achieve true greatness and real strength.

If you look back upon the last twenty to thirty years, especially since Mahatma Gandhi's advent in our freedom struggle, you will realize the real basis of that movement. Mahatma Gandhi infused courage in the hearts of the Indian people and taught them to drive away fear and work together in harmony with others. He taught them to broaden their minds and hearts and train themselves to do something useful. What were the lessons that he taught? His first lesson was to be fearless. It seems a small injunction but it was filled with magic. We were afraid of many things, of going to prison, of bullets, of this and that. This was an instant magic formula which made millions of Indians, including myself, fearless. They saw that Gandhi, a little old man, with no wealth or position, thin and emaciated, a small bundle of bones, had tremendous strength and dignity, who would not bow down to injustice, come what may. After all, what could happen? At the most, one might lose one's life. Once he removed fear from people's minds, the biggest of empires became powerless before them. They could have taken Mahatma Gandhi's life and he was always prepared to give up his life. So there was no room left for argument and the matter was finally resolved. His lesson had an impact, not only on the great men in the country, but also on the lowliest of the low, like the ordinary workers, peasants, masons and shopkeepers, and a unique wave of courage spread all over the country giving strength to the weakest of people. The world looked on in amazement and wondered at this spectacle of a downtrodden people of yesterday standing up against the might of a great empire. Please remember, therefore, that a country is great because of its inner strength. A country gets enslaved by its own weaknesses. The strength of the enemy is not the deciding factor. A country which has a weak heart falls an easy prey to an external threat.

So India became politically independent. But the great problem that was still before us was how to remove India's poverty. Each one of us may have the right to vote and to elect our representative and therefore influence the administration of the country, but ultimately votes cannot fill a stomach. It is true that we feel happy and proud at the thought of having replaced an alien flag by our own at the Red Fort in Delhi, and we grew in courage and strength. But all these things

do not fill empty stomachs. The real question before us is—how to remove the poverty, distress and unemployment which stalk the country. It is a gigantic problem because it involves not ten or fifty persons, but millions of human beings. Our country is very rich but is inhabited by the poor. There is wealth in the land, in the people's minds and bodies, and in her mountains. But how do we acquire that wealth? Even if the wealth is acquired, it may go into the hands of a few or go out of the country and poor people may remain where they are. The important question is—how to raise the standard of living of the common people, provide employment to all, so that they can produce wealth for themselves out of their own work. Wealth has to be produced by the effort of the people and the nation. After all, gold and silver do not constitute wealth. They are only means of trade. Real wealth consists of what we produce by our own skill and hard work. If you produce something, then that is wealth for yourself and for the country. If you merely transfer some currency notes from one pocket to another, that is not real wealth. It just means that one man becomes rich at the expense of others.

These are the problems we have to face today. It is not easy to remove poverty from the country. There is no magic wand which can solve the problem. It can be solved only by the organised effort of the people, with the right approach and hard work. Yes, it is the duty of the Government to provide opportunities by creating new avenues of work and occupation, by making arrangements for training, so that the people can improve their own condition by acquiring new skills and also solve the big problems confronting the nation. The difficulty is that when we began to make the plans to solve the economic problems we were overtaken by the riots and carnage which shook Delhi and the Punjab, and soon after by the war in Kashmir. Our attention got diverted and we could not concentrate on the other questions. The immediate question which arose was of survival and of defence against an enemy who was bent upon destruction. It is a question which arises for a nation as for an individual. We could ignore this problem only at our own peril. Just as an individual, if attacked, will not think of anything else except how to defend himself, similarly our nation had to face this problem a year and a half ago.

Anyhow, we faced this problem and fought against the invaders. The Indian Army and the people of Kashmir cooperated together in this task with bravery and courage and finally pushed back the invaders. As I told you, a ceasefire was announced on 1st January, but the problem continues to be complicated and the future is uncertain. It is obvious, therefore, that we should not be under any illusions and continue to be fully prepared for any eventuality. I am repeating this because it is regrettable that in spite of the solutions suggested by us and an agreement reached between us and our adversary, they have not been implemented. This chapter in the history of Kashmir began on 22-23 October 1947 when there was a sudden attack: invaders came into Muzaffarabad and began to indulge in killing and loot and arson. Was this an act of faith on the part of a country to attack and

invade another country in such a manner? We faced them and immediately lodged a protest with the Pakistan Government as to why they had permitted these invaders to come into India through their territory. They could not have come in without the acquiescence of Pakistan. We said that we had heard that Pakistan had helped them in every way, by giving them arms, ammunition, transport lorries, petrol and other equipment. There was no need for any further evidence when the armed invaders had been permitted to come in through Pakistan. If armed invaders were to go through India to attack a neighbouring country, after all, the responsibility would be ours, whether our own men joined them or not.

Anyhow, I wanted to remind you that Pakistan denied having any hand in the invasion of Kashmir. They denied not only to us but later also when the case was put up before the United Nations—a big world court of appeal. What we said was quite simple and straightforward that Kashmir had been attacked and since the attack was wholly illegal and against the dictates of humanity and civilized behaviour, we felt it our duty to defend Kashmir with which we had a long-standing relationship. Our complaint was that Pakistan was actively helping the invaders and we requested the United Nations to stop them from doing so. This was our only request to the U.N.

When we said this the lawyers defending the Pakistan side made a statement saying that it was absolutely false. They said that Pakistan was in no way connected with this matter, no Pakistani troops had been sent in, nor was any other kind of help given to the invaders. Yes, we are taking an interest in the matter, they said. Now, you and I and our troops are well aware of Pakistan's role in this because we have enough evidence to prove it. There is a limit to shamelessness. In face of the facts Pakistan said openly in the United Nations that they were in no way involved and Pakistani troops did not go to Kashmir. We were in a quandary as to what to do. In Delhi and in Srinagar we have rooms filled with Pakistani military equipment which was captured—arms, ammunition, their uniforms and other things. What can they say to that? Anyhow, they denied everything. Then a Commission of the United Nations came here more than a year ago. It was obvious that the Commission would go into every aspect themselves. It was difficult for Pakistan to deny the presence of Pakistani troops. A few men can be hidden, but how can thousands of troops be hidden? How can big guns and cannons be hidden? We also had enough evidence to lay before the Commission. So Pakistani officers and ministers had to admit that their troops were present in Kashmir. Their admission itself proved that they had been telling lies during the last seven to eight months. It also proved our case. I am reminding you of all this because people's memories are unfortunately very short. When new incidents happen, even the basic facts are gradually forgotten. I have reminded you of the basic facts of this Kashmir story, which were denied by Pakistan in the beginning but had to be admitted later. You can judge from this as to what is right or wrong. If you forget what happened initially, then you will be looking at the picture from a wrong angle.

Many other things have happened since. I regret to say that the Pakistan Government are not interested in keeping their promises. On the contrary, they continue to be aggressive and at the slightest opportunity try to grab further. Perhaps you may not be aware of it but I would like to tell you that, from these postures, you can have an idea of the difference between the Indian and Pakistani ways of functioning. India was broken up into two and Pakistan was created. In this break-up, many things had to be divided into two, for example, the army, the railways, the posts and telegraphs department, irrigation projects, canals etc. It was a complex matter. In that connection it was decided that India would pay Pakistan a particular sum of money from the treasury. The sum was fixed at 70 crores of rupees. It is a big sum. Please remember that just as nations have money, so also do they have debts and we had most of our larger debts transferred to our account on the principle that the real nation was ours and that we would recover the part of Pakistan's share of the debt from her later. So it was decided that we would assume full responsibility for all the debts which Pakistan would start paying back to us in instalments two years hence over the next twenty to twenty-five years. Thus we assumed a very great burden. Pakistan shall pay back their share of the debts to us from, I think, 1951, or 1952, that is, three years from now, in yearly instalments over the next 20-25-30 years. There is no burden on them at the moment. We also agreed to pay them as a lump sum a part of the money in the various banks—I do not remember, but about one-third or one-fourth of it which comes to about seventy crores. This was the tentative agreement, though nothing had been finally decided. We were considering it carefully when suddenly this war in Kashmir broke out and it went on for months and when we saw that Pakistan was indulging in such behaviour, we were in a bit of a dilemma as to how wise it was to give them this huge amount of money which they could use against us, to strangle us and to buy arms and ammunition to be used against the people of Kashmir. It was a very strange situation. So we felt that perhaps it would not really be proper for us to give such an enormous sum to Pakistan when they were fighting against us. It is true that we had promised to give the amount to them because it was supposed to be their share. But we weakened in our resolve and felt that we would not pay it till the Kashmir issue was decided. By then the war in Kashmir had continued for two or three months. When Mahatma Gandhi, who was alive then, heard about this, he called me and said that he had heard that I was going to break a promise for a momentary gain. 'If you have promised to give them the money, what right do you have to break the promise, though no doubt there is a danger that they may use it against you and Kashmir? But there is no greater danger in the world to any country or individual than breaking a promise.' Now, we were in a great dilemma as to what we should do. I would like to know if any other country in the world in a similar situation would part with a huge sum of money to a country with which it had been at war, to help them to fight better. Certainly not. Well, anyhow, no other country functions on Mahatma Gandhi's principles. Well, we

talked it over at length with Mahatma Gandhi who ultimately shamed us into accepting his advice. So we said that since it was his view that we should give the money we would do so, and we gave the entire amount to Pakistan. And certainly there is no doubt that that money was spent on ammunitions which were used against us. But at least we had the satisfaction that we did not break our promise even in such a crucial matter.

I am merely giving you an example to show that whatever may be our weaknesses we have always tried to adhere to our promises. Why do we do so? We have firm faith in the principles and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi and we feel that no country can be great through fraud and deceit. The broadcasts by the Lahore and the 'Azad Kashmir' radios are instances of limitless falsehood. Since her birth Pakistan has wanted to capture Kashmir by any means. On my part, it is my desire not to allow her to do so. She cannot win Kashmir through deceit and falsehood. What has Pakistan done for the States' people, whether in Kashmir or outside? The Muslim League never had any connection with the freedom struggle in the Indian States. People in Kashmir should realise the great changes that have been taking place in India. Autocratic rule in the Indian States has more or less been wiped out. Excepting half a dozen big States, nearly all the six hundred States have been integrated. Democratic governments are functioning in the States unions. These revolutionary changes in India have no parallel in the world.

In contrast to this, there is not the slightest change in Bahawalpur and other States in Pakistan in regard to their autocratic rule. On the contrary conditions have become worse. If Pakistan is so much interested in freedom of the Kashmir people why should she not improve the conditions of the States' people within her own frontiers. Reports in Pakistan papers themselves illustrate how people are being ruthlessly suppressed in Swat and other States. As the Prime Minister of India I have no desire to speak about the domestic problems of Pakistan.

The arrest of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has, however, been a thorn in my heart. It is a great tragedy that the great leader who fought valiantly for India's independence should rot in prison after freedom has been won.

These conditions in the N.W.F.P., whose Premier has actually aided the raiders, are a pointer to the attitude of Pakistan. How can anyone who suppresses his own people in such a ruthless manner ensure the freedom of the people of Kashmir? Is there anyone in India or in Kashmir who does not know that Pakistan's domination over the whole of Kashmir or any part of it would mean the destruction of this beautiful land and its people?

We wish to make India a great and powerful nation in the world, powerful not in such ways as wishing to conquer other countries. We do not wish to attack or conquer others. We want to make India a great nation in every way where the people would be well-off with plenty of opportunity of education and employment, of promotions to the biggest posts according to merit, in short, everything that makes a nation truly great in mind, body and heart. That is the sort of nation we

wish to build. After all, when we have had such a great leader as Mahatma Gandhi, why should we not aspire to become a great nation?

We have many pictures in our minds about the future of Kashmir. I am fully convinced that there is enormous wealth in Kashmir, in the land, in the people's skills and brains, and it should not be difficult to solve the problems of Kashmir and remove its poverty. Yes, it may take some time but it should not take too long. So I want that the hidden wealth of Kashmir should come out and her people—artisans, workers and others—who know how to use their skills and brains should produce wealth so that this State might become rich and every one of its citizens may walk with his head held high. I visualize Kashmir emerging like that and I hope you and I will live to see it.

14. The Army and the Nation¹

The task of the Indian Army in Kashmir is as yet far from complete and the officers of the Army must not slacken their vigil in protecting the people of the State.

It is necessary first to raise the standard of living of the common man and to progressively reduce the economic disparity between the upper and lower income groups. All the 350 million people of the country should cooperate towards this task.

Ultimately the people of Kashmir alone will have to decide their future. India is committed to a fair and impartial plebiscite and this stand, which was taken when India accepted Kashmir's accession, still holds good. But the conditions necessary for holding a fair and impartial plebiscite must be fulfilled.

The National Conference, the biggest political body in the State, under the leadership of Shaikh Abdullah, has cast its lot with India, and India, on her part, will never let it down. Kashmir stands for the repudiation of the two-nation theory, which the Congress and the National Conference have fought for several years.

The world today is divided into various blocs and ideologies, but the only ideology that can deliver the goods will establish itself ultimately. By delivering the goods, I mean the bettering of the conditions of the masses and removing the gap between the haves and the have-nots.

The Western countries are the haves and the Asian countries the have-nots. Today while the possessor nations of the West are turning towards power politics, Asia needs food, shelter and clothing and other necessities of life. Wars can never solve these difficulties.

1. Address to the officers of the Indian Army at Srinagar, 29 May 1949. From the *National Herald*, 31 May 1949.

The economic doctrine of communism would appeal to any intelligent person but the communism of the present day, call it Russian nationalism or Slavism or by any other name, cannot be applied to India. All these "isms" have to be modified to apply to India, and the objective should always be the betterment of the masses. It is no use being carried away by emotion and resorting to violence which no government can tolerate.

India is the only stable and progressive nation in the whole of Asia, and as such is the natural leader of Asian countries. The potential power of India is well realised by the world and India's prestige and influence in the world is, therefore, high. The present phase of difficulties will soon be over and we have a splendid future before us.

Indian troops have a positive role in strengthening India's economy and they, along with others, should tighten their belts. India has an unfavourable balance of trade and has to import large quantities of food from abroad which eat away the sterling balances.

We cannot do without food, and we must produce more and make India self-sufficient in food. An all-out effort is being made to solve the food problem, and perhaps in about two years and a half India will be self-sufficient in food, and we will not only be able to cover the food deficit but also produce enough to meet the needs of our growing population.

In four or five years, industries should be able to turn out more goods, and our financial position will then be better in regard to foreign trade. Our economy depends on more irrigation works, development of key industries and machine-tool production. We have already laid the foundation for these industries, and the day is not far when they will yield results. Our difficulties are just a temporary phase.

I congratulate the officers on the work they have so far done in Kashmir, and I am pleased to see that the Indian troops have endeared themselves to the people of the State and are affording them much-needed assistance. The spirit and morale of the Indian troops are highly rated and their achievements will go down in history.

15. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
30 May 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I received your telegram about the Yuvaraj's *upanayana* ceremony.² I informed

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Patel telegraphed from Dehra Dun on 29 May that he had learnt from the Maharaja of Kashmir that Karan Singh's sacred thread ceremony "is to take place in Delhi on fifteenth June. It would therefore not be possible for him to visit Srinagar until after the ceremony."

Shaikh Abdullah. Of course, he should stay here for the ceremony. It would be desirable to fix a definite date, soon after the ceremony, for the Yuvaraj's going to Srinagar. This will enable suitable arrangements to be made in time.

During my two-day visit to Srinagar, I visited a large number of places and offices. I saw how the transport system is now working, how civil supplies are kept and distributed, cooperative farms with tractors working and the beginnings of some new industries. On the whole, I was favourably impressed by the improvement that had been made since I went there last, more especially in regard to transport and civil supplies.

Srinagar had a more normal air and there were some visitors about too. In fact, about half a dozen of our ambassadors or other foreign representatives have also gone there. Because of all this, the general economic outlook was somewhat better and I think public feeling had reacted to this.

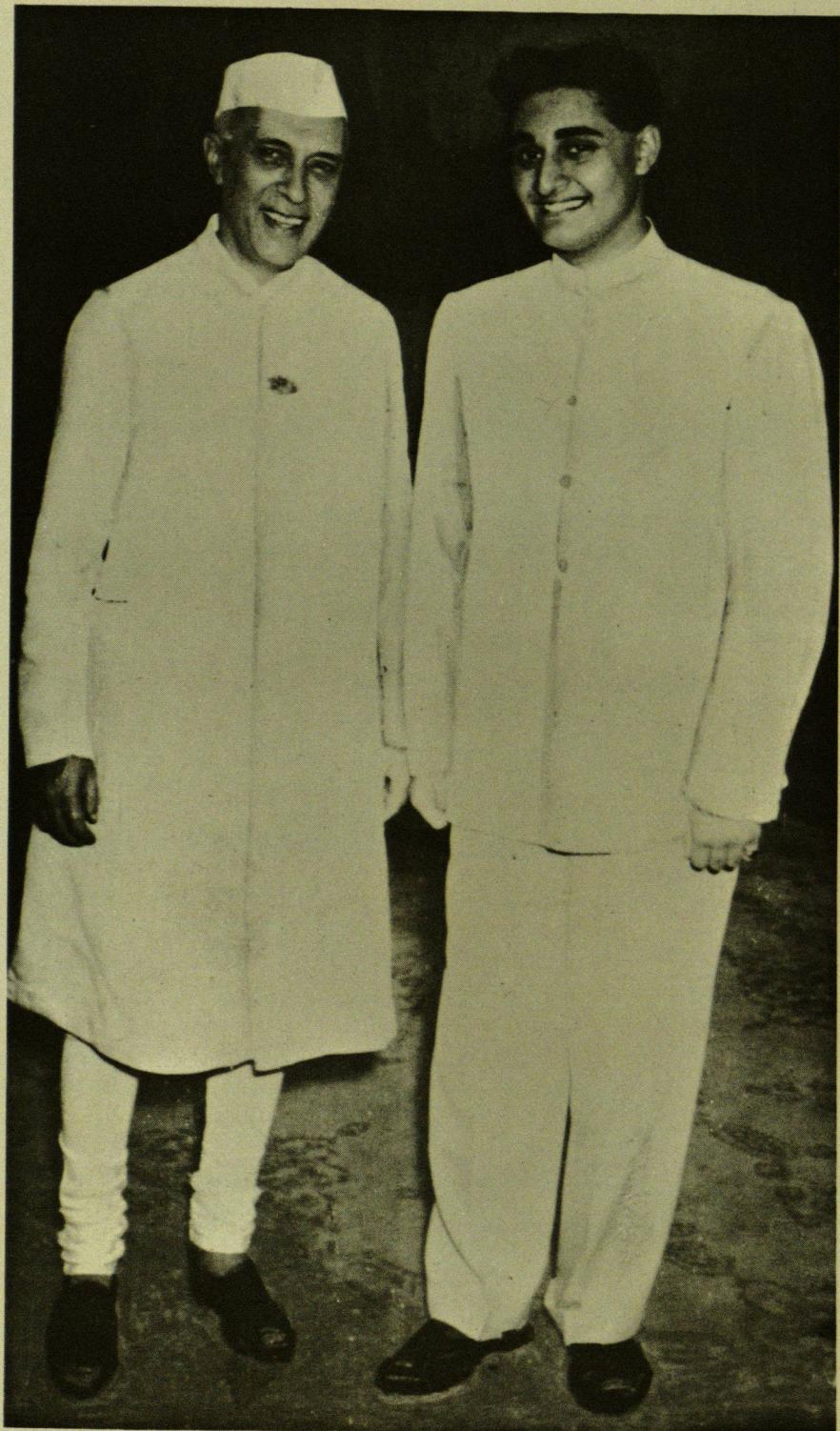
I met for the first time the Czech representative³ on the United Nations Commission. I had a very long talk with him, and he struck me as a man of intelligence and strength of character. He appreciated our viewpoint entirely.

Gopalaswami spoke to Shaikh Abdullah about the four representatives for the C.A. In a day or two Vishnu Sahay⁴ (Secretary for Kashmir Affairs) will bring Shaikh Abdullah's recommendation of these four names and will then take them or send them to Dehra Dun for the Maharaja's formal endorsement. I hope this will be done soon so that some Kashmir representatives might begin to take part in the C.A.⁵

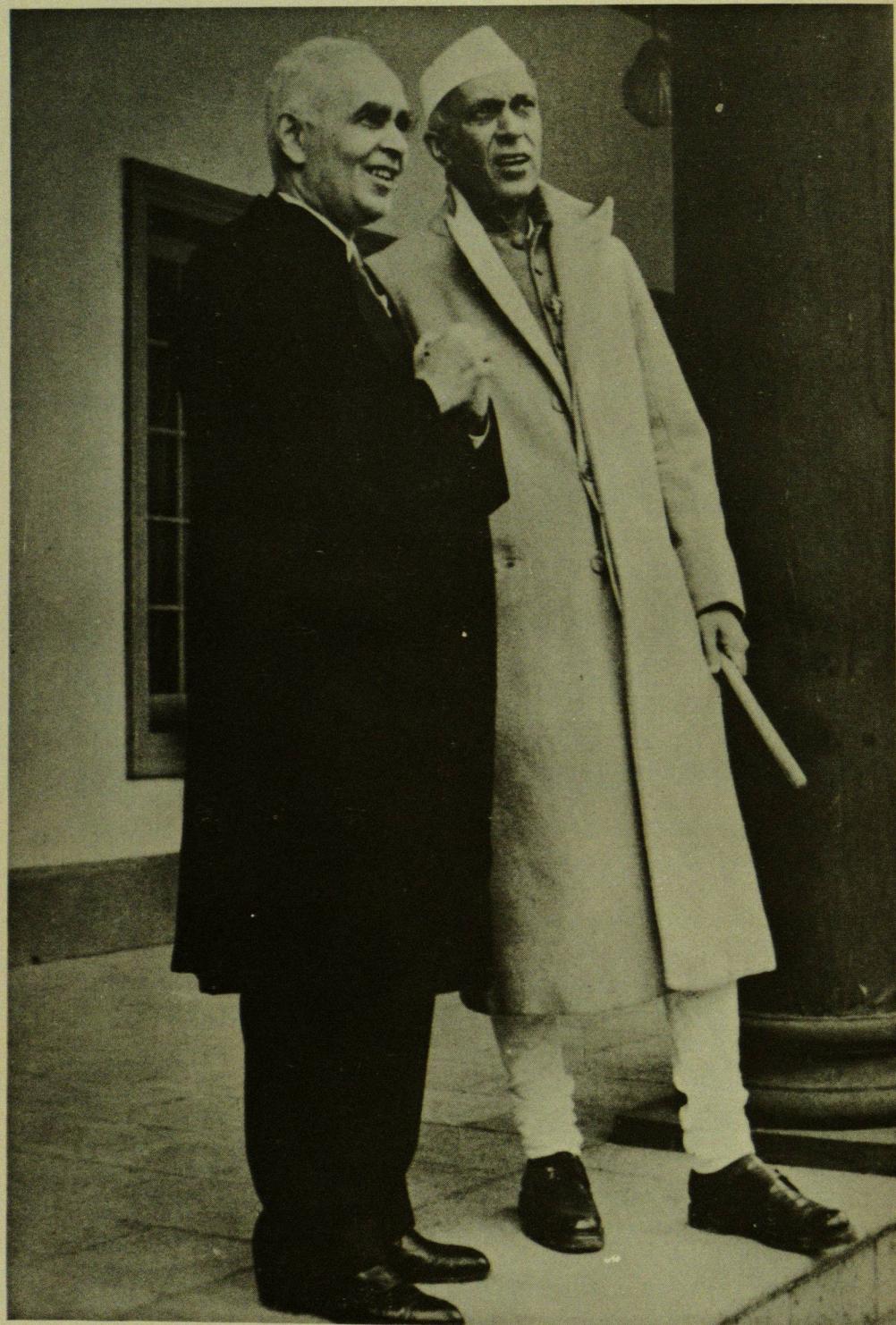
It seems to me very desirable to encourage *bona fide* tourists to go to Kashmir. This is necessary both from the point of view of the economy of the State and to produce better psychological conditions and normalcy. At present the rules are too difficult. Even wives of senior officers cannot easily get permits, because of the roundabout procedure. Of course we have to check undesirables. But a way should be found to permit *bona fide* people to go there without trouble. I am writing to the Defence Ministry about this.

As I told you, I have promised to go to Leh early in July. On further enquiry I found that the place I am supposed to visit is 25 miles from Leh. This means marching along a mountain path, and is normally two days' march, though it can be done in a day. A visit thus will take longer than I had thought at first. At the same time I discovered that the occasion for this visit is important from the point

3. Oldrich Chyle.
4. (1901-1989); joined I.C.S., 1925; held various posts in U.P. upto 1941 and thereafter in the Central Government; Secretary of Ministry of Food, 1947-48, Kashmir Affairs, February 1949-March 1951, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 1951-52, Kashmir Affairs and Labour, 1953-57, and of the Cabinet, 1958-62; Governor of Assam, 1962-67.
5. Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg, Maulana Mohammad Sayeed Masoodi and Moti Ram Bagda became members of the Constituent Assembly of India on 16 June 1949.



WITH YUVARAJ KARAN SINGH OF KASHMIR, 18 JUNE 1949



WITH G.S. BAJPAI AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SRINAGAR, 28 MAY 1949

of view not only of Ladakh but of larger areas all round, including Tibet. There is a big Buddhist fair held at the chief monastery at Ladakh. I think I should go there. Altogether it will mean six days' absence from Delhi from 3 July to the 9th.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

16. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
30 May 1949

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

Thank you for the two delightful days I spent in Srinagar. I am very glad I went. I have brought back with me a more vivid impression of things as they are and I think these are improving in many ways. As I have told you previously, I am convinced that what is more important than anything else is for the internal government of Kashmir to run smoothly and effectively and to create an impression of stability and integrity.

I am writing to you a brief letter separately about one of the questions you had raised.² In regard to this and other questions, I would strongly urge you to treat the Maharaja with courtesy and generosity. This kind of treatment is always good in the long run and it smooths difficulties. The future will be decided soon enough and the present cannot bind it. But the present can make the way to the future smooth. We have always to consider priorities—what is more important than something else—and we have to lay the greatest stress on priority No. 1. I suggest that public references to the Maharaja or the Maharani should be completely avoided.

As I told you, the Yuvaraj is having his sacred thread ceremony in Delhi on the 15th June. He has therefore to stay here till then. (He is at Dehra Dun at present.) He will be going back, therefore, to Kashmir some time after the 15th June. We shall let you know the exact date later. I hope you and your colleagues will treat the Yuvaraj with friendship and understanding. He is a bright young boy, inexperienced but meaning well.

I am very much attracted to the proposed visit to Leh early in July. I hope that some tentative programme for this will be sent to me.

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. See the next item.

Quite a number of our embassies here are greatly worried at, what they say, the communist infiltration into Kashmir. I am not myself aware of any considerable infiltration. But as some people known to be communists are prominently working there, this makes our foreign embassies apprehensive and affects their outlook towards Kashmir. It is for you to judge how to deal with this situation which might injure us in the eyes of foreign countries. Most of them have heard about Bedi³ and they enquire about him. I understand that Bedi is editing the newspaper there and is drawing a substantial salary plus free car etc. I have no personal grievances against Bedi, but in view of the trouble we are having with the Communist Party in India, naturally Bedi's name is constantly coming up before people here....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Baba Pearey Lal Bedi (b. 1909); President, Punjab Congress Socialist Party Conference and of Punjab Trade Union Conference, 1937; Joint Secretary, All India Kisan Sabha, 1938; Leader, Punjab Communist Party delegation to First Party Congress of the C.P.I., Bombay, 1943; expelled from the C.P.I. after 1947 for differences over national policies, particularly on Kashmir; close associate of Shaikh Abdullah, 1947-52; gave up politics and took to mystic life, 1953; founder editor, *Monday Morning* and *Contemporary India*, and author of *Harvest from the Desert*.

17. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
30 May 1949

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

In my speech at Srinagar, I referred to the conditions in the Frontier Province, more especially in Swat State.² I think it is important for people in Kashmir to realise what is happening in a small State nearby under Pakistan. This is a better evidence of what Pakistan stands for in the States than any speech.

In case you have not seen any other account of this, I enclose some comments by the Pakistani press as collected by our Press Information Bureau.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See *ante*, item 13.

18. Permit Rules for Entry into Kashmir¹

I was in Kashmir during the last weekend, when I heard numerous complaints, both from members of the Kashmir Government and from our officers, about the difficulty in obtaining permits for visitors going to Kashmir. Instances were mentioned. One of these was that of the wife of a Lieutenant Colonel of our Army serving in Kashmir now who was finding considerable difficulty in getting a permit. Her application had been forwarded to some local police official in Bengal.

This matter has been discussed on several occasions and I understand that some relaxation of the old rules was recently made. Evidently, this has not gone very far and it is still difficult and troublesome for *bona fide* visitors to go to Kashmir. It is clear that care should be taken to prevent undesirable persons from going there. On the other hand, it is of considerable importance to the economy of Kashmir that visitors should go there. Also, from the psychological point of view, the presence of visitors in Srinagar and round-about creates healthy conditions in the public mind. Normality is more or less restored and the large number of people who depend on tourist traffic are more contented.

It should not be difficult for rules to be made to facilitate the entry of visitors and at the same time check undesirables. Rules which keep out or delay the wife of an officer of ours, or well known citizens of India, are obviously not good. The idea of some local police official reporting on such a subject also seems rather absurd.

I shall be grateful if the Defence Ministry reconsiders this matter afresh and liberalises the rules. It should be enough for the District Magistrate to give such a permit. In case of doubt he can of course refer the matter to his Provincial Government or to the Defence Ministry.

1. Note to the Ministry of Defence, 30 May 1949. J.N. Collection.

19. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
2 June 1949

My dear Krishna,

As Amrit Kaur is going to London tomorrow, I am giving this brief note to her for you.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

In a sense there is nothing very special to write about, and yet, of course, one could write at length about all manner of happenings here. The normal malaise continues and is accentuated by the heat. More particularly, in this weather the refugee problem becomes acute and I have to spend a good deal of time over it. Kashmir is a perpetual headache. I went there for two days during the weekend and was, on the whole, rather impressed by the progress made in certain directions. I found a better organisation of the transport system and civil supplies, and both these are vital to Kashmir. My visit did good in many ways. But the whole situation is disquieting and as a result all kinds of rumours float about there. There are plenty of people in Srinagar, especially among the petty State officials, who are Pakistanis. Shaikh Abdullah, as you know, made a very foolish statement about the independence of Kashmir some time back which created a great deal of trouble. Subsequently he explained it away. He is very popular with the masses still and has many fine qualities. But he has little political insight and is upset by any fresh development. However, on the whole, things are as satisfactory as they could have been in these circumstances.

We are awaiting the decision of the United Nations Commission. Our reply² was given to them some days back and the Pakistani reply³ has also now reached them. We do not know what the latter is. But I understand it is some kind of a conditional acceptance. Of course if there are conditions attached to it, then it is hardly an acceptance. This means we remain where we were. Meanwhile the excitement in Pakistan is very great. The people there have worked themselves up into a peculiar and neurotic state over Kashmir. That is the only danger of the situation. I do not myself think that any military operations will take place, but there is always a risk when people are excited.

I have almost decided to go to Ladakh early next month. There is a very big fair at the principal Buddhist monastery some distance from Leh on the 5th and 6th July. It is not a particularly easy place to reach. Nevertheless I intend going there partly by air and partly by mountain track. This will mean my absence from Delhi for a week from the 2nd July onwards.

2. In her reply on 18 May, India declared that both from the standpoint of the security of the State and the freedom and impartiality of the plebiscite, the question of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces should not be left in a state of uncertainty and the phasing of the withdrawal of Indian troops should be linked to the actual disbanding and disarming of these forces. India also asserted her right to garrison important strategic points in the northern region.
3. Pakistan, in her reply on 30 May, considered garrisoning of the northern region by Indian troops unnecessary and wanted use of Pakistan forces also in case of external aggression in this region. Even if Indian troops had to be stationed there, the civil authority of the Jammu and Kashmir Government should not be extended there. It claimed completion of withdrawal of tribesmen and Pakistani nationals who had entered the State for fighting, wanted synchronization of withdrawal of the two armies and expressed its inability to decide on the truce terms without knowing the schedule of withdrawal of the Indian forces.

The French Government has been giving us a great deal of trouble about the French possessions. They are behaving in a childish manner, hardly befitting a government. They asked us suddenly to withdraw our Consul General from Pondicherry. This meant serious consequences, because we would have asked for the withdrawal of their Ambassador from here. On our pointing out to them that the consequences were going to be serious, they withdrew their demand. Yesterday a news item from Lake Success announced that they had approached The Hague Court for some observers to enquire into the customs cordon between Pondicherry and India. No mention of this was made to us at any time and suddenly we are told that The Hague Court has appointed observers for this purpose, who will be coming here soon. The French have been acting in a most slippery manner....

Yours,
Jawaharlal

20. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
3 June 1949

My dear Gopalaswami,

Dr Marti² of the International Red Cross saw me today and told me about his visits to various Pakistan and 'Azad Kashmir' areas where he saw civil and military prisoners etc. He even visited Skardu. He said that generally speaking the conditions of these prisoners were not bad and they were being given fairly good treatment. Then he spoke about his meeting Gurmani. Gurmani told him that this matter of exchange of prisoners etc. could only be settled by a heart to heart talk at ministerial level.

I told Marti that our own reports of the treatment of some of the prisoners especially from Kashmir and including women and civil population were very bad. Indeed we had statements about this ill-treatment which amounted to gross inhumanity at times. Women were disposed of to Pathans and when some of these escaped to Lahore these Pathans pursued them and demanded them as booty of war. I was not, therefore, prepared to accept the statement that these prisoners etc.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Roland Marti (1909-1978); joined the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1936; became head of Medical Division, 1946, and later of the Relief Division; carried out Red Cross missions in India and Pakistan, 1949-50.

were being well treated. It may be that in some of the places that he visited the treatment was not bad.

As regards Gurmani, I expressed myself rather strongly. Apart from this I said that I just did not understand why Gurmani or the Pakistan Government were behaving in the way they were doing except with the express object of delaying matters and not coming to an understanding. The question was simple and even if a part of it was complicated, that part could be dealt with later. I just could not understand why women and children could not be sent away immediately without further argument. Perhaps there might be some argument about soldiers and men of military age. However, we were anxious to get this matter through and I was prepared to send a senior officer with full authority to discuss this matter with a responsible man on the other side and come to conclusions. Our ministers cannot go running about after Gurmani. We were prepared to meet any person who comes here with authority. In fact, we were prepared to do anything to expedite this matter.

I do not know where we stand about this matter after the lengthy exchange of messages with the Pakistan Government. I suppose you must take some active steps and cannot allow matters to remain where they are.

If you would care to meet Marti, you can send for him. I think he is going back to Pakistan in two or three days' time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

21. To Kala Venkatarao¹

New Delhi
3 June 1949

My dear Kala Venkatarao,

Your letter of the 3rd June. It is rather difficult to deal with Sarat Babu's reckless statements without discussing important matters of State. For instance, he has made many statements about Kashmir which have been appreciated by Pakistan and have therefore been given publicity in Pakistan newspapers. He goes about attacking in public our foreign missions and in fact running them down even in foreign countries. This is not a right thing to do for any Indian.

Regarding Kashmir, his main argument has been: (1) that the Government of India committed a grave error by going to the United Nations Security Council

1. A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.

in this matter, (2) that we are bound to lose the plebiscite, (3) that, therefore, we should aim at some kind of division of the State so that we may retain at least part of it.² Pakistan newspapers displayed Sarat Babu's statement that we are bound to lose the plebiscite. That encourages their morale. As a matter of fact I think Sarat Babu is not right. But right or wrong, these public statements obviously encourage Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Sarat Bose wrote in *The Nation* of 20 April 1949 that "Shaikh Abdullah's heroic assertion that Kashmir will decide in favour of joining the Indian Union will, in all probability, remain heroic only in words" and added that "Jammu, if it is to be saved to India, must have a separate plebiscite."

22. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
4 June 1949

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd June.

I entirely agree with you that the Maharaja has not behaved either with sense or decency or dignity. There can be little doubt that the troubles of Kashmir would have been far less than they have been if the Maharaja had possessed some little sense. We have to fashion our behaviour regardless of what he is or what he does. I am quite sure that that produces good results in the end. I want you and your colleagues to help to raise political standards in Kashmir to a high level. It may be that some people will not understand them. But I am absolutely convinced that is the right way to train a people and make them essentially strong. With an opponent like Pakistan that is the only way, because you can never stoop so low as Pakistan or combat with it in its own methods.

As for the Yuvaraj, I have formed a good impression of him and I think that he will respond easily to good and friendly advice. Naturally he is inexperienced. I found that he was himself embarrassed and distressed by the constant company of his parents here in Delhi. When he was taken away to Dehra Dun, he experienced a feeling of relief.

1. J.N. Collection.

As I have told you, his sacred thread ceremony has been fixed for the 15th June. He can go to Kashmir soon after, say four or five days after. But I am told that he would like to go to Jammu first to collect some goods and chattels. He does not want to stay there long. Please let me know what dates you would suggest for him to go.

I am not myself very much concerned about the communist infiltration in Kashmir, and yet one cannot cease to be vigilant about it. The Communist Party of India has been functioning for the last year in a most peculiar and distressing way. It is not the way of communism. It is just terrorism and killing.

No person with the least love of India could have functioned in that way, though their present methods can only lead to ruin and misery in India. They have unfortunately come to the conclusion that the India they want can only come into existence after widespread ruin and misery and chaos. This is not only a counsel of despair but is extreme folly, because chaos in India would certainly not lead to the betterment of the Indian people for a generation or more. We would go back to primitive conditions and it may be that foreign intervention will follow.

You know that I have no grievance against communists as such or against communism and I have liked many of the young men and women who are associated with communism in India. But almost against my will, I have come to the conclusion that their present policy in India is an extremely dangerous one not only for our country but also for the bigger causes of Asian progress and world peace. And so, I combat them, though I try to do so with as little ill will as possible.

If the Communist Party is bent on giving this trouble in India, it stands to reason that they will not ignore Kashmir. In any event they would not have ignored Kashmir, more especially because Kashmir is a vital spot today as between India and Pakistan, because dynamic changes are taking place there and because it is a frontier country with the Soviet Union not far away. It is inevitable that communists should take interest in Kashmir. They may be wise enough to behave differently there for the present, but their policy must remain the same. Hence the need for utmost vigilance.

Another aspect of it is the reaction on foreign ambassadors and observers as well as the United Nations Commission. Nearly all of them react violently to communism. There is no need for us to make them think unfavourably of the Kashmir Government.

You referred to the Bedis. I rather like them and especially Freda.² I know that Freda left the Communist Party some years ago. What she has done since, I do not know. But so far as I know, Bedi has continued in the Party, and the Party,

2. Freda Marie Bedi (1911-1977); married B.P.L. Bedi in 1933; participated in the freedom movement; taught English at colleges in Lahore; became a Buddhist nun in 1966; author of *Behind the Mud Walls* (jail diary) and other works; editor of *Social Welfare* for many years.

especially today, does not tolerate any lukewarm people or those who do not fall in line with their present policy.

I do not want you to push out the Bedis and cause immediate distress to them. But I do think that no responsible work should be given to them and they should be kept completely in the background. Yesterday I saw a little book on you written by the Bedis. This kind of thing immediately makes people think that the Bedis are playing a prominent role in Kashmir and are closely associated with you. These create reactions in their minds against you and your Government.

I am greatly looking forward to my visit to Ladakh.

Your musicians of the Culture Front performed this evening at my house. I had given a party to meet the Members of the Constituent Assembly and your Culture Front people and their songs were greatly appreciated. I really think they are good. Rajaji is thinking of having them in Government House one of these days and they will broadcast tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

23. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
9 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a cutting from *Pakistan Times* (Lahore)² which might interest you. It shows how the Praja Parishad of Jammu is playing into the hands of Pakistan.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 1, p. 279.

2. *The Pakistan Times* reported on 6 June that Hari Singh's ouster from Kashmir was more a triumph on the part of Shaikh Abdullah's political opponent, Thakur Nachint Chand, backed by the Praja Parishad and the Hindu Mahasabha.

24. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
June 15, 1949

My dear Krishna,

I have just learnt that Kaul is going to London tomorrow on his way to Washington. I am taking advantage of this to give him a letter to you.

This month of June has been a very troublesome one, so far as I am concerned. So many things have gone wrong and continue to go wrong. However, I suppose we have struck a bad patch and that we will be out of it some time or other. I am looking forward at least to early July when I go to Ladakh for a week.

The U.N. Kashmir Commission people, or some of them, are back here again wanting elucidations and explanations.² In effect this is a continuous attempt to tone down what we have previously said. We shall answer them in the gentlest manner, but we are not going to change the position we have taken up. Practically there are three points at issue. One is the disarmament and disbandment of the 'Azad forces'. This is agreed to in principle by the Commission, though the actual method of implementing it might be argued about. Secondly, the phased withdrawal of our forces. We have made it clear that our withdrawal will depend not only upon the complete withdrawal of Pakistan regulars and irregulars, but also on the disbandment of the 'Azad forces'. At any given time, we are going to keep enough forces to meet any possible danger, external or internal. Thirdly, the Northern Areas, including generally Baltistan, Ladakh, etc. The greater part of Ladakh is in our possession. So no question arises except about one or two strategic points. Our general contention was that all these areas should be put directly under the Kashmir Government. There has been no regular occupation of these areas by any government during the past year. Roving military bands have captured some places here and there. Subsequently we varied this position and said that we were prepared to discuss the civil administration aspect later, but that we must hold certain strategic points in these Northern Areas. We did not specify these points, as we waited for the acceptance of the principle we had enunciated.

Even this we are slightly varying now. That is to say, we propose to indicate certain points, not very far from our present line, which we must have anyhow. In regard to the other strategic points, we are prepared not to occupy them now, provided that all Pakistan regular and irregular forces retire completely from all those areas and there is no internal trouble. If there is any such trouble, probably instigated by Pakistan, or any other danger to these areas, then we reserve the right to occupy some of the other strategic points in these Northern Areas. These areas,

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. Alfredo Lozano, the Colombian member of the Commission, came to New Delhi to seek clarification of India's reply to its truce proposals of 28 April.

I might remind you, are very sparsely populated and gradually verge into the high mountains.

This is our present intention. Probably we shall give this reply as a kind of addendum to our previous letter tomorrow. Shaikh Abdullah is here today and so are our military folk for consultation. I might mention that we consider it absolutely essential to hold the Kishenganga river in the north, the Burzil pass, Marol towards Ladakh and one or two other places.

Shaikh Abdullah has come here with some of his colleagues to take the oath in the Constituent Assembly tomorrow morning. As a matter of fact the Assembly is being adjourned tomorrow. We have gone through most of the provisions of the Draft Constitution, leaving out a number of controversial issues. The Members are stale and tired. We now propose to meet again on the 25th July to consider the remaining matters. A week before that private conferences will take place with Premiers of Provinces and others in regard to these remaining questions. We hope to finish the Constitution, that is the second reading, about the middle of August or perhaps a little later. We shall then have to meet for the last time for the third and final reading. We ought to finalise this early in October. The date for the proclamation of the Republic is likely to be the 26th of January.

The general situation in Kashmir has on the whole improved by the firm line we have adopted. There has been a good deal of shouting and cursing in Pakistan and even talk of war. Personally I do not think there is going to be any war. But one can never be sure, because propaganda in Pakistan has brought up public expectations to fever heat and the 'Azad forces' might misbehave at any time. So we have to be prepared.

The Sikkim affair has drawn a lot of public attention, though it is a very minor thing indeed. Both the parties, that is the Ruler and the representatives of the State Congress, are likely to come here soon for consultations.

There is one matter in which I should like your help. This is in regard to compost. We are anxious to encourage the use of this here. I remember reading somewhere about small or big plants for making compost cakes which were quite odourless and pleasant to handle and were very good indeed as manure. Could you send us some particulars about such plants set up by municipalities?

The recent election in South Calcutta must no doubt have attracted considerable attention. Sarat Bose was expected to win, because it is some kind of a family seat and he was trading on Subhas Bose's name. But the real reason is a complete collapse of the Congress organisation in West Bengal. It amazes me to find how utterly inept and narrow-minded and stupid the Bengal Congress has become. It is faction-ridden and they could not even pull together for this election. On the other hand we had a curious medley of communists, Hindu Mahasabhaites, R.S.S., anti-Hindu Code people and socialists, not to mention Sarat Bose's own particular small group. There is no doubt that both the Congress and the present Provincial Government in West Bengal are for the moment thoroughly unpopular. Probably

the West Bengal Government is the most conservative or reactionary in the social sense of all our provincial governments. They have lost touch with the public completely. They think only of the next elections a year or so hence and intrigue for position. It is a bad business altogether. Conditions in the rest of India are certainly better, though East Punjab runs West Bengal pretty close. Still Calcutta is a portent for the whole of India, so far as the Congress is concerned. In the U.P. and in Bombay Presidency and the C.P., the Congress is still on the whole popular and influential. In other places, the local Congress is pretty bad, though there is still the prestige of the Congress to hold on to it. This general deterioration in human material is our worst problem.

Meanwhile violence grows. In Calcutta it is a fairly common occurrence for political opponents to be assaulted and beaten or their houses raided. The communists, specially in Calcutta, are continually indulging in this type of violence as well as in throwing small bombs containing acid, etc. However, it is no good giving you details of this kind. They depress me and they will depress you. Sarat Bose no doubt will be a little more mischievous than previously. Indeed all mischief-makers have been encouraged by recent events.

There are some good things happening also and among them is the introduction at last of the U.P. Zamindari Abolition Bill.³ I think this will be generally popular with the peasantry.

The other good thing is that, in spite of our troubles and worries, I carry on without too much feeling of oppression.

Among the things that we have to consider in the Constituent Assembly, when it meets next, will be a citizenship clause. This is rather tricky for two reasons. One is how to provide for people who have come from Pakistan and whose homes till recently were in Pakistan, and at the same time not to leave the door open for Pakistanis. Secondly, how to provide for Indians overseas as in Malaya, Fiji, Mauritius, etc. If you have any ideas on the subject, you might send me a draft

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. On 8 August 1946, the U.P. Legislative Assembly had adopted a resolution accepting in principle the abolition of the zamindari system and appointed a committee to prepare a scheme. The committee submitted its report in October 1948. The Zamindari Abolition and Land Reform Bill was published in June 1949, introduced in the House in July 1949 and ultimately passed in August 1950.

25. The Truce Proposals¹

I do not understand where Pakistan comes into the picture in regard to the withdrawal of some of our forces from Kashmir. That is a matter entirely between the Commission and us.² If the Commission are satisfied and we are satisfied, there the matter ends. In this and similar matters we do not deal with Pakistan directly or otherwise.

I can understand of course the anxiety of Pakistan to know not only the strength of our forces but as much else as they can about our intentions. But I do not see why their wishes should be met in this connection. It should be remembered that we do not yet know what Pakistan's reply to the Commission is. We are proceeding unilaterally. If that is so, why should our reply or part of it be placed before Pakistan?

There have been several instances of misunderstandings and dual interpretations in the past of what the Commission has decided. When the Commission came here some months ago, we drew their attention immediately to numerous statements made on behalf of Pakistan where, contrary to our view, interpretations were put forward by Pakistan. These were entirely opposed to what we had stated in our aide-memoire which had been accepted by the Commission. This matter has never been cleared up and yet remains vague, except for some assurances given by the Commission to us. Then again we drew the Commission's attention to the type of propaganda that has been carried on by Pakistan. This was both bigoted and blood-thirsty and talk in terms of religion and war. That matter too has rested where it was. Pakistan's policy throughout has been not to commit itself clearly to anything and get commitments from us, which then become a spring-board for a further claim.

I should like to avoid this in future as far as possible and I should also like to avoid information being given to Pakistan about our intentions, so long as we are not fully supplied with Pakistan's intentions and replies. If, however, Pakistan agreed to accept the truce terms in accordance with what we have stated, and we were given information about their replies pertaining to these truce terms, then I have no objection to part (c) of our letter being communicated to Pakistan. I repeat that I do not think it is any business of Pakistan to know what we propose to do

1. Note to the Secretary General, M.E.A., 17 June 1949. File No. 52/335/NGO-55, M.E.A.
2. In a note of 17 June the Secretary General stated that Lozano and Samper had "enquired whether in the event of the Commission deciding to send a Representative to Pakistan, we should have any objection to the Pakistan Government being informed of our programme of withdrawal."

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

in Kashmir. But as a matter of courtesy to the Commission and in order to facilitate a settlement, we might agree to this. Our military advisers might be consulted on this matter.

Regarding the point raised by Dr Lozano about a sentence in Clause II, you are quite right in keeping the sentence as it was. Daily there is talk about war preparations and movements and threats of war in the Pakistani press. Our intelligence bears this out completely. Our past experience shows us how Pakistan functions by infiltrating and creating disorder as well as by attacks by regulars and irregulars. We cannot ignore all this and we have to be perfectly prepared to meet any contingency. Hence it becomes essential for us to say what we have done in Clause II in regard to the Northern Areas.

4

POLITICAL PARTIES

I. Congress Affairs
i. The United Provinces

1. To Purushottam Das Tandon¹

New Delhi
May 25, 1949

My dear President,²

At the last meeting of the Council of the U.P.P.C.C., held on May 22nd at Dehra Dun, my report came up for consideration.³ In the course of the discussion, Shri Chandra Bhan Gupta asked me some questions. It has struck me that perhaps he considers that I have not dealt adequately with certain matters affecting him in my report. I should like to state quite clearly that in all the papers supplied to me and in all the other information that I have received, there was absolutely nothing which could possibly reflect on Shri Chandra Bhan Gupta. It was because of this that I thought it quite unnecessary to deal with this question in my report.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Purushottam Das Tandon was the President of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee.
3. On 3 April 1949 the Executive Council of the U.P.P.C.C. had referred to Nehru, Vice-President of the P.C.C., a number of charges and counter-charges made to the President of the P.C.C. in regard to certain monies and other matters. Nehru sent his report to the President on 12 April and it was considered by the Council on 17 and 22 May. For full text of Nehru's report see, *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 10, pp. 195-202.

2. To Purushottam Das Tandon¹

New Delhi
June 4, 1949

My dear President,

Soon after you went away, Rafi² came to see me about some other matter. I showed him the draft statement which you had given me. Thereupon he pointed out that part of it was not quite correct. That really referred not to this draft but to my original report. Anyhow I noted down what he said and I have put this down in

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was the Central Minister for Communications at this time.

an addendum to my report which I enclose. The facts disclosed in this addendum make one statement of mine in the report rather incorrect.

Rafi further suggested that it would be desirable for me to write to Choudhuri Raghbir Narain Singh to get his version of the statement referred to in paragraph 21 of my original report. I am therefore writing to Raghbir Narain Singh.³

As I told you, I am writing to Chandra Bhan Gupta⁴ and sending him a copy of the letter I wrote to you about him.⁵ I enclose my covering letter to him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The same day Nehru wrote to R.N. Singh, chairman of the Reception Committee of the Meerut Congress, that Kidwai had informed him that he had been asked by Singh to keep as a reserve the Rs 30,250 received by him for the Meerut Congress. Further, a sum of Rs 32,000 was actually paid by Kidwai on behalf of the Reception Committee on various heads. Nehru asked Singh for any information about these sums.
4. See the next item.
5. See the preceding item.

3. To Chandra Bhan Gupta¹

New Delhi
June 5, 1949

My dear Chandra Bhan,

I have received your letter of May 29th. I might inform you that I wrote a letter to Shri Purushottam Das Tandon, President, U.P.P.C.C., on the 25th May,² that is, soon after my return from Dehra Dun. This letter was specially written because of what you said at the Council meeting in Dehra Dun. As Tandonji has not had the opportunity to show this letter to you, I enclose a copy with his permission.

You will notice that in my report to the President, P.C.C., I have specially referred to the tendency among Congressmen to throw out charges against others without any attempt to justify them or verify them. I have stated that this is very undesirable both from the private and public point of view. A number of charges of this type were vaguely preferred orally or in writing. In regard to this, I said

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See *ante*, item 1.

that it is not possible to enquire into these allegations and as there is no proof of any kind attached, I do not think it is my function to institute enquiries.

As regards the particular statement to which you have referred, there is not much room for any enquiry. The facts are that one person is reported to have stated that another person told him something; that other person denies having said it. Either one person is believed or the other, the issue being as to what was said, or perhaps casual remarks may get distorted and vague statements misunderstood. In any event such statements are undesirable and should not be made or repeated by anybody, as I have stated in my report. The whole question is third-hand and at best a vague reporting of what somebody might have said, which is denied. There has been far too much of loose talk in such matters all over the place. So far as you are concerned, it does not affect you at all, except that, I can well understand, it must have distressed you.

I have not heard from anyone, either Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai or anyone else, any reference to this matter prior to your drawing my attention to this fact yourself. Certainly in my opinion there is nothing at all in any vague charges that might be made against you. It is most unfortunate that circumstances should arise when people talk loosely and vaguely about each other and I completely agree with you that this kind of thing should be put an end to.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

I. Congress Affairs
ii. West Bengal

1. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
May 30, 1949

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter of the 28th May. I have already sent an answer to your previous letter. As for the World Federation of Democratic Youth, we do not attach very much importance to it. I forwarded that letter to you as a matter of routine.

I am glad you feel that most people in Calcutta and West Bengal understand and appreciate the action you have had to take. Nevertheless, we have had a large volume of criticism not only from Bengal but from the rest of India as well as abroad. It would have been easy to answer that criticism by presenting the public with a report of a competent enquirer—say a High Court judge. Little value is attached to departmental enquiries. I still feel that both from the larger point of view as well as from the point of view of the by-election, some such statement would be of value. If it is difficult to hold a full-blooded enquiry, perhaps a more limited enquiry might be held. That is, a High Court judge can see all your papers and, maybe, examine some few persons without much fuss and present a report. As I wrote to you, the Working Committee attach importance to something of this kind being done.

I agree with you that the personal approach to the people should be done mainly through the Congress organisation. It is most regrettable that there should be such Party rivalry in West Bengal specially. I do not know what I can do in the matter from here, except to give advice.

Yours,
Jawahar

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Vote for the Congress Candidate¹

I send my good wishes to Shri Suresh Chandra Das², Congress candidate for the

1. Message to the voters of South Calcutta, 5 June 1949. From the *Hindusthan Standard*, 9 June 1949.
2. Das, President of the South Calcutta District Congress Committee, was contesting the by-election to the Provincial Legislative Assembly.

South Calcutta constituency. I trust that the voters in this constituency will support him and vote for him.

I have generally avoided, during recent years, interfering in any election contest. But in the present instance, I feel that the issues raised are such that I should make it perfectly clear what I feel in the matter. The opponent of Shri Suresh Chandra Das is Shri Sarat Chandra Bose, who in past years has been our colleague in the Congress and in the national struggle for freedom. He is the brother of a beloved person whom India honours. Normally we should have welcomed him, but he has chosen to walk a different path and to range himself with all those who are opposed at present to the Congress and all it stands for.³ I deeply regret this and I regret even more the manner in which he has done it. Criticism and opposition are the breath of democratic life and none of us can object to them. But at any time, and more especially during the critical period through which we are passing, that criticism has to be balanced and constructive. We have far too many disruptive forces at work and our problems are far too grave for mere destructive criticism and negation. It has specially grieved me that Shri Sarat Chandra Bose should have made numerous statements which have tended to injure India's position abroad and which have been utilized by our enemies and opponents for propaganda against India. That, I venture to say, is utterly wrong from any point of view.

I have little doubt that we, as Congressmen and as Government, have often erred and made mistakes. Nevertheless I fail to see how unbalanced attacks on the Congress and destructive criticism can help the country in any way. As free people, we have to shoulder the responsibilities of freedom and those responsibilities include a balanced and temperate view of events and not merely a continuation of an attitude of negation and condemnation. We have to correct our errors with the help of public opinion and always function with the cooperation of the people.

The people of Bengal have suffered greatly since the unfortunate partition and have to face a multitude of difficult problems. But the people of Bengal have a long record of political action and leadership in our national movement and I have little doubt that they will get over their present difficulties and take their rightful place in the councils of independent India.

I commend Shri Suresh Chandra Das, the Congress candidate for the South Calcutta constituency, to the voters of that constituency and trust that they will give him every support.

3. Sarat Chandra Bose resigned from the Congress Working Committee on 6 January 1947 in protest against the acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan. On 1 August 1947, he founded the Socialist Republican Party and in September 1948 started a daily newspaper, *The Nation*. The United Socialist Organisation was formed at his initiative in 1949.

3. To Kala Venkataraao¹

New Delhi

7 June 1949

My dear Kala Venkataraao,

I sent you two days ago a message for the South Calcutta election.² In view of recent happenings, I am sending another message³ which would go together with the first one. I think the sooner you issue both these, the better.

Dr B.C. Roy writes to me that even now rival groups in the Bengal Congress are pulling in different directions. Some people are not assisting the Congress candidate. Others are talking in terms of changing the Ministry, as soon as they have the chance.

Will you please convey to all these groups of Congressmen in Calcutta that if, even at this moment, they cannot pull together, then they will lose the respect of every Congressman in India? If, at this moment, instead of helping each other to fight this menace of violence and disruption, they still think in terms of changing Ministries, then they will prove themselves petty-minded men unworthy of any great work or responsibility. It is astonishing that when this challenge is made to the Congress and the nation, any Congressman should be so small in mind that he should keep away and look on, or, worse still, think of some petty advantage for his group. This is a very serious matter and the whole of the future of the Congress in Bengal depends upon it. Whether it is the Congress Working Committee or the All India Parliamentary Board, they will take a very serious view of any failure to act together at this moment.

I should like you to convey this message privately as from me. Of course this is not for publication. I am sure the Congress President must feel, as I do, in this matter.

I am enclosing two letters for Dr B.C. Roy. Will you kindly deliver them to him ?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See the preceding item.

3. See the next item.

4. A Message to Voters of Calcutta¹

Two days ago I sent a message to the General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee in connection with the election in South Calcutta.

In that message I urged people to vote for Shri Suresh Chandra Das, the Congress candidate, and expressed my regret that Shri Sarat Chandra Bose should associate himself with a disruptive policy which could only be termed anti-national.

Events have happened subsequently which have demonstrated how far this disruptionist and anti-national policy has gone. Open violence has been resorted to in order to break up a Congress meeting and bombs and acid bulbs have been used.² This is a strange way of fighting an election. Further, and more surprising and distressing still, National Flags have been burnt. Who are these people who burn the emblem of the nation and thus insult our national honour? If a foreigner had done this, there would have been anger in the country. And now some people, who call themselves Indians, treat with contempt and disrespect the flag of the nation. Who do these people represent? Not India, I suppose, because they destroy the very emblem of independent India. They must represent, therefore, some other cause which has no relation to the freedom and independence of the Indian people.

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose has apparently allied himself with all these anti-national elements and is being exploited by them. Under which flag does Shri Sarat Chandra Bose stand, to which flag do his associates give allegiance? The question for the people of Calcutta to determine is under which flag they stand—the flag of the nation or some other known or unknown flag of people who insult the National Flag. I am astonished at the effrontery of anyone in India daring to raise his hand against our Flag. I hope the people of Calcutta will give a firm and adequate answer to this insolent challenge, not only in the election that will take place soon in South Calcutta but also in other ways.

1. 7 June 1949. A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L. Also printed in the *Hindusthan Standard*, 9 June 1949.
2. On 5 June, a mob broke up a Congress election meeting in Deshpriya Park at Calcutta and set fire to a furniture shop and two buses. The National Flag was burnt. In the police firing that followed one person was killed and twenty-five people including prominent Congressmen were injured.

5. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
7 June 1949

My dear Bidhan,

I have received your letter of June 6th. Only two days ago I sent you a message for the election.² Next morning I heard reports of violence and arson at the Calcutta meeting. It is clear, as you say, that this is something more than an election campaign. Well, obviously the challenge has to be met. I am inclined to think that in the long run, and even for the election, this violence on the part of our opponents is a good thing. It will open the eyes of many people. I have little doubt that if we tackle this problem properly, we shall not only control the situation fully and win the election, but also generally improve the whole situation in Calcutta, which has been deteriorating for sometime past.

I am exceedingly sorry to find that even at this critical stage, certain elements in the Congress should think of their particular factions and not join hands with others. That is our misfortune. However, we have to go ahead with all our strength. I am sending a private message through Kala Venkatarao to Congressmen in Calcutta.

I am also giving Kala Venkatarao another message for the election for publication. I enclose a copy of it.

Yours,
Jawahar

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See *ante*, item 2.

6. To Kailas Nath Katju¹

New Delhi
June 14, 1949

My dear Kailas Nath,²

Thank you for your letter of the 9th June. There are many things happening in India, and notably in Bengal and Calcutta, which are distressing and alarming. But you have chosen something which had not struck anyone else as risky or dangerous.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Governor of West Bengal at this time.

There are any number of people, far too many I think, who are interested in my security and safety. But none of them thought that a visit to Ladakh was a risky affair. As a matter of fact I was told that this was the best time of the year to go there by air. The rains and the monsoon do not reach that region at all. So please be assured.

Perhaps it might be possible for you to pay a brief visit to Kashmir, when you come to Delhi next.

This Sarat Bose election business and all that accompanied it has given a bad taste for the mouth. The election does not matter.² It is the state of affairs in Calcutta and West Bengal and, more especially, the state of Congress affairs. They are about as bad as they can be. It is an omen which should make us think hard.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. In the elections held on 12 June, Sarat Chandra Bose defeated Suresh Chandra Das by a big margin.

7. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
June 14, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Sucheta Kripalani came to me this morning and gave me an account of what she saw in Calcutta during this last election. This account was about as bad as anything could be and was thoroughly depressing. The dominant feature of the situation, she said, was the complete bankruptcy of the Congress. There was so much feeling against the Congress generally and the local government that it was hardly possible for prominent Congressmen to show their faces. The election booths were dominated by the opposition, notably the communists, who functioned in an organised and disciplined manner. There were practically no Congress groups or volunteers present and the slogans were all opposition slogans of extreme virulence. The chief slogan was: Who kills our women ? Answer: The Congress. This is in reference to the shooting which took place some weeks ago, when some women died.

Not only were no Congress groups or volunteers present at the election booths, but apparently no special attempt had been made to organise them or send them.

1. J.N. Collection.

A few individual Congressmen did some private canvassing, but outwardly there was hardly any Congress work or electioneering visible on the Congress side. Some ministers and others came to polling booths in their cars, stayed there for a minute or two and dashed away. They were rather afraid of demonstrations against them. In fact about the only person or persons who adopted a somewhat positive attitude were Sucheta Kripalani and Renuka Ray.² The result was that they were pushed about and mishandled.

Some days before the election, an attempt was made by a group of Bengali women and girls to go into private houses to canvass among women for their votes. Everywhere they were treated with contempt and insulted. The usual insult was: Are you the kept women of the Marwaris of Calcutta? The result of this was that these women refused to carry on any electioneering and retired to their homes. In fact, the atmosphere that prevails in Calcutta is so hostile to Congress and the Provincial Government that it is hardly possible to say a good word for either of these in public.

Generally, the Congress in Calcutta is associated with the Marwaris and is not looked upon as a Bengali show at all.

Women are particularly angry with the Congress, chiefly because of the shooting incident. There are hardly any young men in the Congress. A number of old and middle-aged men, chiefly connected with some committees or office, still continue in the Congress. Even among these, as is well known, there are factions. It was said that the ministerial group was very passive in this election, apparently because the Congress candidate was supposed to belong to the other group. Among Congressmen, such as there were, there appeared to be greater interest in the P.C.C. meeting to be held today than in the election.

This, in brief, is what Sucheta told me, and she was naturally greatly depressed by her experiences. It may be that she took an exaggerated view, but there can be little doubt that the basic position is much as she described it. The present Bengal Provincial Government as well as the West Bengal Congress have completely lost influence with the people in Calcutta. How far this is true in the rural areas, I do not know. But I imagine that much the same reaction, though to a somewhat lesser extent, exists there. This is a total failure of the Provincial Government's policy. They have lost the sympathy of all vital social groups in the city and in the Province and rely on some groups of friends and supporters and mainly on the Government's policy of repression. There are limits to the effectiveness of that policy and it is clear that those limits had been exceeded. No doubt the communists and others have deliberately created trouble and indulged in violence. But in the final analysis they have succeeded in thoroughly discrediting the Government. Meanwhile our

2. (b. 1904); Member, Central Legislative Assembly, 1943-45; Member, Constituent Assembly and Provisional Parliament; Rehabilitation Adviser for Eastern Zone, Government of India, 1949-52; President, All India Women's Conference, 1952-55; Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation, Government of West Bengal, 1952-57; Member of Lok Sabha, 1957-67.

Congress people in Bengal still imagine that they can manoeuvre in committees and change governments and become ministers and the like, and attach more importance to all this than to the basic facts of the situation.

This is a very serious situation and it means that Bengal is fading away from the Congress picture.

Bengal may be a very special case. Probably the East Punjab runs it close. In other provinces the situation is certainly not so bad, but the symptoms, in a lesser degree, appear there also. We can thus see very plainly the trend of events in India, which are leading to the isolation of Congress and government from all vital groups.

The Calcutta election has been an eye-opener and if we do not profit by its lesson, then we are doomed.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

8. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
June 17, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your two letters of the 16th June.

I have now had occasion to discuss the Calcutta election with Kala Venkatarao, Lakshmi Kanta Maitra² and others. There is complete unanimity in their accounts of it. They lay most of the blame on the Congress organisation and the party spirit amongst Congressmen. Actually very few Congressmen took the trouble to help in the election. They were all thinking in terms of the P.C.C. election two days later.³ Bidhan Roy and others placed 210 or so motor cars at their disposal and a large quantity of petrol. Neither the cars nor the petrol were fully used. The petrol was kept back for use for the P.C.C. meeting.

If that was so in the top ranks of Congressmen, you can well imagine what others were thinking and doing. Kala Venkatarao and others told me that it is a very definite disqualification for anyone to stand in the name of the Congress in Calcutta at present. The voting was not for Sarat Bose so much or for anything

1: J.N. Collection.

2: (1893-1953); practised law in Krishnanagar, West Bengal; joined the Congress in 1920 and participated in the freedom movement; elected member of the Central Legislative Assembly, 1934; member, Constituent Assembly, 1947-49; was associated with several educational institutions.

3: Elections for the office-bearers of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee were held on 14 June after 107 members had charged the existing executive with acts of corruption.

else positive, but rather just to show their dislike for the Bengal Congress and the Provincial Government. The Central Government, to some extent, also came in the picture. This is a bad state of affairs and requires some radical remedy.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

9. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
June 18, 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th June² enclosing a copy of a letter from Shri Goonesh Chandra Sen.³ That letter is indeed illuminating as showing how people's minds are working in Calcutta.

This South Calcutta election has been a bad show in many ways, but it will have served some good purpose at least if it wakes us up to realities and makes us face them. Both the Government and the Congress have to do this. I think that the Congress Working Committee should meet fairly early to consider this matter. Perhaps we might wait for Vallabhbhai's return. Meanwhile, it is up to each one of us to give earnest thought to this situation.

I do not know if you have sent a copy of Shri Goonesh Chandra Sen's letter to anyone else. I am sending copies to the Governor General and to Vallabhbhai. May I suggest that you might send it to the Congress President yourself?

I am also taking the liberty to send a copy of this letter to Dr Bidhan Roy, although I am not mentioning the name of the sender.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. In his letter Rajendra Prasad introduced G.C. Sen as a lawyer with considerable practice and a Congress sympathiser. "His analysis of the situation deserves consideration."
3. Sen wrote that Calcutta had voted against the "Congress Ministry" in Bengal and not for the ideology of Sarat Bose in the by-election and added that maladministration, high prices of essential commodities, heavy taxation, nepotism, blackmarketing and police firing on women were the real causes of the defeat of the Congress candidate. He also mentioned a rumour that fifty per cent of the P.C.C. members secretly desired the defeat of Suresh Das.

I. Congress Affairs

iii. General

1. Criticisms of Congress Ministries¹

Congressmen should work to strengthen the Congress and devote themselves to constructive work. I admit that there is corruption in the country but that is nothing new.

The ministers are well aware of the criticism against them but in many cases complaints of corruption and nepotism tend to be exaggerated. Corruption and other evils are not so rampant as is made out by some critics.

Certain types of corruption are the results of wartime administrative creations, like controls, but no country in the world, except the United Kingdom, has been able to overcome them completely. In India it is not of such magnitude that they should shout about it. The Congressmen should cooperate with the administration by vigorously pursuing the constructive programme of the Congress. This would help the government to combat the evil effectively and eradicate it completely.

We are aware of the criticism that Government has failed to nationalise industries. Nationalisation of course is good in principle but the means of the country do not permit it. Every country has a limit to money and we have our own. We think it is better to extend industries than to spend money in acquiring them.

I am not opposed to the ideals of communism but the Communist Party in India is anti-national. They want to create confusion by sabotage and armed insurrection. Therefore we should beware of them.

The socialists are patriots but confused. Their idea of foreign policy is confusing and if the Government accepted that idea it would only weaken the country.

1. Speech at a secret session of the A.I.C.C. convened to discuss the relationship between the ministries and the Congress organisation, Dehra Dun, 22 May 1949. As reported in the *Hindusthan Standard*, 23 May 1949. Other newspapers also reported the above version.

2. Revitalize the Congress¹

One fails to understand the inaction of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee but it affords me a great pleasure to respond to your invitation to attend this political

1. Address to the Delhi Provincial Political Conference, Delhi, 19 June 1949. From the *Indian News Chronicle*, *The Hindustan Times*, and the *National Herald*, 20 June 1949.

conference. I was rather surprised to note that the D.P.C.C. did not extend an invitation to me to participate in the National Week celebrations to which I was looking forward. I do not know whether the committee observed the Week at all. I am, however, glad that they have now shaken off their lethargy.

The Congress has lost the South Calcutta by-election. To minimize the importance of this election is to close one's eyes to the realities. We have to admit that in South Calcutta there is resentment against the Congress and especially the Provincial Government. Most of the votes were cast in favour of Mr Sarat Chandra Bose not because the voters favoured him, but because they were against the Congress. It is clear from this election that the strength of the Congress is decreasing. Congressmen should search their hearts and find out the causes and work towards removing them.

The time has come to take stock of things and make a concerted effort to revitalize the Congress. There has been slackening of enthusiasm among Congressmen in some provinces and they are busy indulging in group rivalries and office-seeking. The tendency which has been growing of expelling Congressmen for misconduct or dereliction of duty, instead of winning them over as was done by Mahatma Gandhi, is regrettable.

If you do not strengthen the Congress it will be better to wind up the organisation, instead of allowing it to disintegrate by stages.

We are occupying the seats of office for the last two and a half years. We are there as nominees of the Congress which represents the masses. As long as the Congress continues to represent the people we shall remain there. The moment the Congress loses touch with the people we shall lose our title to remain there even for a day more. It is therefore essential that the Congress should represent the sentiments and aspirations of the people.

The problem is that there is no political organisation, except the Congress, which is capable of safeguarding India's newly won freedom. It is true that many faults have crept into the Congress organisation. But it is certain that if the Congress withdraws from the field, about fifty political organisations will begin fighting for power and chaos will begin.

I do welcome the criticisms levelled against the Congress and the working of the Government today, but they should be balanced. At this juncture, people should cooperate with the Government in solving the problems of the day.

I do realise that refugees are facing many problems but the use of violence and abusive language is no solution of the problem. It is open to the refugees to say that if the Government were more competent, greater progress would have been made in the task of rehabilitation. But they must admit that it is not due to any lack of will on our part that we have not been able to achieve as much as we wanted. It might be that I was not fully competent to handle the job.

The problem of the refugees has a special significance for Delhi. Lakhs of refugees have sought refuge in the capital. It was natural for them to come here to

Delhi. The influx of the refugees has, however, created several complications and difficulties for the original residents of the place and more particularly the trading classes here. The Government's policy is to help the refugees in their rehabilitation here and all our resources will be utilised in carrying out this policy.

There is some controversy over my letter to Dr Choithram Gidwani,² President of the All-India Refugees Association, regarding the Government's moral and legal responsibility to compensate the refugees for their losses in Pakistan. I understand that some of my refugee brethren are angry with me on my reply. I had conceded in my letter that the Government were legally and morally responsible for helping the refugees in their rehabilitation in so far as their resources allowed them to do so. But the losses of the refugees are so colossal that it is beyond our financial resources to fully meet them. This, however, does not mean that we want to shirk our responsibilities towards the refugees.

The refugees have left in Pakistan property of far greater value than that left by those who have left India for Pakistan. We are making every effort to find a satisfactory solution of the problem of the disposal of evacuee property in the two Dominions. Our representatives will meet the Pakistan representatives in a few days to discuss this question. We must, however, not lose sight of the fact that there cannot be any unilateral decision as we are dealing with a Government. I am, however, hopeful that the forthcoming talks will yield satisfactory results.

The refugees should cooperate with the authorities in the gigantic task of rehabilitation. They should not look towards the Government for everything and should give up the habit of blaming the administration for all mishaps.

You have passed a resolution demanding autonomy for Delhi.³ There can be no two opinions on the question. There are, however, peculiar characteristics of Delhi because of its being the seat of the Government of India. There are about twenty-five embassies in Delhi which are subject to international law. Delhi has become the nerve-centre of Indian politics.

The problem, therefore, is complicated. Take the instance of Washington, the capital of the United States, which is centrally administered. On the other hand our Government does not want to deprive the twenty lakh people of the Delhi Province of the benefits of self-government. We will have to find out, therefore, a *via media* between the present constitutional position of the Province and complete provincial autonomy.

2. The reference is to Nehru's letter of 4 February 1949 to Gidwani. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, pp. 259-260.

3. The Conference passed a resolution on 19 June demanding autonomous democratic government for Delhi Province. Since the question of the future constitutional status of centrally administered areas was coming up before the Constituent Assembly, the Conference appealed to its Members to give full support to its demand and secure its incorporation in the Constitution.

I think it was a mistake to have declared Delhi as the capital of India thirty-seven years ago. Except for certain advantages to landlords of Delhi, this imperialist stranglehold imposed certain disabilities on the people here.

My personal opinion is that the growing needs of Delhi can be met better through legislation in Parliament rather than any rigid set-up imposed by the Constitution. It will be better if by the end of this year Parliament considers this matter and enacts a suitable legislation. This will help in changing the set-up, if required, later, taking into account the new problems. If it is a part of the Constitution it will be difficult to bring about the required changes.

I must say a few words about the activities of the Communist Party of India. I myself agree with many principles of communism, but the policy which the Indian Communist Party is following is not in accord with all these principles. Its policy is to create chaos and disorder and paralyse the government. The communists are the enemies of the State and want to uproot the sapling of political freedom planted only a short while ago.

I agree with the suggestion that it is necessary to have economic freedom with political freedom, but without protecting the political freedom from any attack we cannot go forward in the direction of economic freedom.

Since independence the face of India has changed and is continuing to change. The States are disappearing and the old map has gone out of date. In economic matters the Government has adopted a halting policy and does not propose to introduce any radical changes. This is being done deliberately as we do not want to disrupt the present system.

I want to warn the capitalists, who are deliberately trying to hoard wealth and are not investing it to increase production, against following a short-sighted policy. This policy is against national interests. The future of the capitalists depends on the future of India. If India progresses they will also prosper otherwise there is a danger of other forces coming on top.

Regarding the meetings of the Congress Assembly Party which were not open to the press, the way some members gave a version of the proceedings is not creditable. A case in point is the version of my remarks on the Calcutta election at the meeting of the Party one day before the Constituent Assembly adjourned. The version does not accord with facts and has helped to create a lot of misunderstanding. Papers have written editorials on the basis of this version. I feel that it might be better to throw open such meetings to the press as in that case there would be no possibility of any wrong statements being accepted.

The secret session of the A.I.C.C. in Dehra Dun was not held to discuss any problems which could not be made public. It was mainly decided to curb the tendency of some members to make long speeches, either with an eye to publicity or to speak for the sake of speaking. Such meetings are necessary to enable members to analyse calmly the problems of the day.

It has been tentatively decided to declare India a republic on January 26, 1950, after the new Constitution has been adopted in October this year. The preparations for elections which are going on may take some time and it might not be possible to hold the elections before the winter of 1950, some fifteen months hence. However, I am eager to find out in the interim period, if this could be done, how the people feel towards the Congress and the Government and their policies.

I have come to feel that more contact with the people is desirable. I want to get more chances to address the people, whether at big meetings or small, here or elsewhere in the country, in order to understand the difficulties of the people and to tell them what I have to say.

4

POLITICAL PARTIES

II. Communists

1. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
13 May 1949

My dear Bidhan,

At the recent conference of Governors² held in New Delhi a number of problems were discussed. Among these was of course the law and order problem as well as the challenge of the Communist Party of India. It was the unanimous opinion of all of us that we must deal with this challenge firmly. Nevertheless, it was not thought desirable at all to ban the Communist Party in the whole of India. In West Bengal of course it is banned and the ban will presumably continue. One matter was specially emphasised by many Governors. This was the growing tendency to rely on repressive measures alone to meet any difficulties that might arise. Repressive measures are of course inevitable when a State is challenged or law and order are upset, but by themselves they do not take us very far unless a positive policy is pursued.

It is clear that the Communist Party and other hostile groups are bent on provoking Government into repressive action which then is held up to the people in condemnation of Government. In Calcutta and roundabout specially, many such incidents have happened. Whatever the justification of Government might be, and there is a great deal of justification behind them, there is little doubt that the general public reaction is seldom favourable to Government. In particular, recent firings, resulting in the death of women, produced a great deal of feeling in the minds of the public and they began to think that conditions must be pretty bad when women have to be shot down.³

I should like you and your Government to give thought to this matter because it is a pretty ghastly business to go on shooting women or, for the matter of that, men. Sometimes this may be inevitable to protect others, but there is always the grave danger of this kind of thing becoming almost a normal routine for our police. It is a slippery slope and the police have to be continually kept in check.

There is no doubt in my mind that ultimately the only way to check and suppress all these violent and objectionable tendencies is to have a positive programme of approach to the people and that pure repression will fail.

Yours,
Jawahar

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The Governors conferred on 8 and 9 May 1949.

3. On 27 April 1949, seven persons including four women died in Calcutta when the police fired on a procession taken out in violation of prohibitory orders by a communist-dominated women's organisation in support of the demands of the political prisoners on hunger strike in West Bengal jails.

2. Communist Violence¹

The attached telegram requires no direct reply. But it may be sent to our Embassy in Washington, together with such facts as you may be able to obtain from the Home Ministry about the number of the so-called communists who have been arrested. It may be pointed out that it is completely untrue to say that there is any attempt to oppose trade unionism and even less so intellectuals. The fact of the matter is that the Communist Party has been functioning in practically open revolt in certain parts of India, indulging in violence and sabotage and individual murder. In spite of this, Government have not declared the Communist Party illegal, except in West Bengal where the Provincial Government did so under certain circumstances some months ago. Treatment of prisoners is specially attended to. It is evident therefore that the senders of this telegram are labouring under some misapprehension and have not got the correct facts.

You may inform the Embassy that they can treat this telegram or like messages or enquiries in any manner they think fit.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 18 May 1949. J.N. Collection.

3. To J.N. Chaudhury¹

Dehra Dun
22 May 1949

My dear Chaudhury,

Yesterday's papers contained a brief note to the effect that eight communists have been sentenced to death by some special tribunal.² Some of us know the background of all this and all the murders committed by the communists. But I found that most people here at the All India Congress Committee meeting did not know much about this matter and some kind of an impression was widespread that communists as such were being sentenced to death. The type of news item, which appeared in the press, will probably go to foreign countries also and produce a like impression.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. For instance, *The Hindustan Times* of 21 May 1949 reported that a special tribunal at Nalgonda in Hyderabad had awarded death sentences on 20 May to eight communists convicted of murder and other offences.

I think that we should take every care to remove this impression and give the real facts. These facts are that anti-social elements in some border districts of Hyderabad have been carrying on a campaign of murder and loot and arson and in fact hundreds of our people have been murdered. It is for these murders that we are trying some people and the tribunal has, for the first time, convicted some of these and given the death penalty. One fact must always be borne in mind not only in this matter but generally. We should avoid talking about communists as such. We should rather refer to terrorists or anti-social elements etc. This brings out more clearly the nature of the campaign against us and of the offences committed. Too much talk of communists confuses the issue because communists in other countries function differently. We must not make it appear that we are undertaking these special measures simply because these people are communists. I hope you will make this point clear now and later whenever opportunity arises. Thus the sentences are for murder and the like.

We have been asked here if this sentence is subject to appeal. Under the particular ordinance, which has set up the special tribunal, there is apparently no appeal. But Sardar Patel stated in Delhi some days ago and confirmed this here this morning that in such cases there was an appeal or a reference to High Court judges. I hope this is so. This fact should also be publicly stated because it is most important that a man sentenced to death by a special tribunal should have his case reviewed by some other judicial authority. I want to know definitely what the procedure is going to be, as I am quite sure that enquiries will come to us from foreign countries.

I am returning to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To B.C. Roy¹

Dehra Dun
22 May 1949

My dear Bidhan,

I wrote to you some time ago about the recent firing in Calcutta which resulted in the death of some women as well as some men. You had told us of the serious situation in Calcutta and East Bengal and the deliberate attempt of communists and others to create trouble, even to the extent of throwing bombs and hand grenades on the police. Also the technique of putting forward women in processions etc.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I have no doubt that situations have been deliberately brought about which compelled the police to resort to firing.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that as a consequence of all this our reputation is suffering both in India and abroad. It is also rather doubtful if, in the long run, we are winning in this battle of gaining people's minds and hearts. The police, or even the military, must be brought into action when necessity compels us. We cannot possibly look on supinely when people deliberately indulge in violence and create trouble. To do so would be to invite more and more violence and to hand over our friends to the wolves. That is so. But after all our policy must be one of winning over the great majority of the people and making them understand that we only resort to repressive action when we are forced to by circumstances. There is always a danger in India, and perhaps more so in Bengal than elsewhere in India, of a martyrdom psychology developing. We have ourselves in our time tried to develop this and function under its influence. Such a mental approach actually welcomes governmental repression and firing.

Are we, therefore, playing into the hands of our opponents or are we leaving something undone which we ought to do? We seem to be getting into a vicious circle and we have to give the most careful thought to this matter. There is little doubt that a great many people, including leading Congressmen, are greatly perturbed. I know that there is strong criticism abroad.

The Working Committee have been considering here the question of putting up a candidate against Sarat Bose in South Calcutta. We were told that Sarat Bose would have had no chance whatever but for two facts: the reactions in Calcutta to the police firing on women and certain charges of corruption or nepotism in the administration which have not been answered, although *The Nation* has given full publicity to them. We have decided in Working Committee that this seat in South Calcutta should anyhow be contested. But it was pointed out that something must be done about the two matters referred to above. What should be done, it is for you to decide. Normally when a serious incident like police firing resulting in death takes place, there is an inquiry. In a case which has excited so much public attention, it seems all the more necessary that an inquiry should take place, both from the public's point of view and the Government's. Perhaps you had some kind of inquiry of a departmental nature, but that hardly appears enough. I would suggest to you even now, though it is rather late, to have a fuller and an impartial inquiry. Not to do so appears to be an avoidance of what the people expect.

About the other matter, that is, charges of corruption and nepotism in the administration, I have not got any details, but if charges have been made, they must be met in public. Whether this demands an inquiry also or not, it is for you to decide.

I am returning to New Delhi and shall be glad to hear from you soon.

Yours,
Jawahar

5. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
23 May 1949

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th which I received this evening on my return from Dehra Dun. This morning I wrote to you from Dehra Dun.

I do not think anyone has suggested that in West Bengal or in any other province there is no positive policy and no positive programme and that reliance is placed on repression. Nor do any of us have any doubt that in the circumstances when women started throwing bombs and acid bulbs, the police should not remain inactive.

I realise that your resources in money etc. are limited. Obviously if we had an abundance of money, the problem would be much simpler. I know also that whatever we might do, they are not likely to affect the communists much or at all. Their policy is not based on any national grounds, but derives from entirely other objectives.

You say that the Governors would think differently if they had to do the administering. Perhaps this is true. But some of us have to do our bit of administering and we have also some experience of mass feeling and reactions. There has been, during the past two or three years, a widespread dislike of communist methods and tactics in India. That dislike continues, I think, but I have little doubt that there is a certain veering round and part of the dislike has been turned on governments.

We must always remember that active or thinking politicians are relatively few. Even communists of this type are relatively few. What counts is the mass inarticulate opinion which ultimately turns the scale. Whatever we might do, we are not going to convert the communists or most of them. But we must always try to influence and win over this large mass of public opinion. I have little doubt in my mind that this public opinion, though still friendly to the Congress, is increasingly critical and sometimes aggressively so. There are of course various reasons for this—some of which are entirely beyond our capacity to control, others which we ought to try to control.

When I referred to a positive approach, I meant economic programmes, etc. I meant also just the personal and human touch, that is, our people going about to the villages and other places just personally explaining the situation to people and pointing out our difficulties. This personal touch, if carried on in a friendly and human way, goes far. We seem to have lost that touch and very few people go about as they used to in the old days. The result is that the public comes into contact only with the critics and opponents of governments and sees Congress only as a governmental machine and not in the personal and human way to which it was previously accustomed. In spite of my being very busy with my official work,

I give a lot of my time to this human approach and I think that time is well spent. I wish I could give more time to it.

In my last letter to you I suggested that it would be desirable to have a proper enquiry into the last firing in Calcutta. It should be quite easy for you to establish the facts, which are that these women threw bombs and acid bulbs etc., which fell on the police and the public, and that most of the persons killed were from bomb splinters and that it was quite inevitable for the police to fire. That would justify and strengthen your Government's position in the eyes of large numbers of people who do not know all the facts and who do not easily believe government statements. You will remember that we have ourselves created a mentality in the past of disbelieving all official statements. As a matter of fact this mentality is fairly common all over the world in such matters. It is possible that many of the people of Calcutta know the facts and do not require any further proof. But people outside do not know them.

About the banning of the Communist Party, it is admitted by all of us, and our policy is proof of it, that we will not tolerate any violence from communists or others. We have in fact gone pretty far in our campaign against the communists. We have done everything short of banning them and in effect the communists are functioning as an underground organisation. Their workers are either in prison or underground except for a few. You think that we should place the communists outside the pale of peace-loving society and thus make the unwary and simple-minded unthinking folks realise the true facts of the situation. I am afraid it is not so simple as all that. I do not think the banning of an organisation in the past, here or elsewhere, has had such an effect on the minds of people. If our present action against the communists does not produce that effect, an additional banning will not do it. Obviously if we are convinced that the security of the State and the people necessitates banning, we must ban it. But, before we do so, we have to consider all its consequences.

It is rather doubtful whether banning would really give us greater hold over the communist trouble. It may have a somewhat reverse effect. It may also divert people's attention from the violence and terrorism of the communists, which they hate, to ideological questions, on which they may hold any opinion. In Hyderabad they are carrying on open warfare against certain communist elements in two border districts. Banning has not made any particular difference. In Malaya, the large British forces and air planes, etc. have been functioning for the last nine months against communists and the like without great success.

In the world of today, we have to face the dominance of the Communist Party or its associates over a vast area. The communist victories in China have made a tremendous difference to Asia and the world. Even the Governments of the U.S.A. and the U.K.—and they are no lovers of the Communist Party—have no intention of rubbing the Chinese communists the wrong way and they seriously consider when and how they should recognise them.

It is difficult, therefore, to ban a group in India which feels that it has a good part of the world outside India behind it. It is difficult for most people to realise that communists are outside the pale of society, when a great part of that very society happens to be on their side.

Therefore, the right course appears to be to lay stress on the violence, sabotage, terrorism, etc., and to deal with it with all vigour and not to emphasize the fact of communism.

Yours,
Jawahar

6. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
June 4, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am rather worried about Hyderabad. I do not quite know how things are functioning there, but from odd reports a feeling of apprehension grows. Others share this. I think it will be a good thing for a full report on Hyderabad and its present problem to be prepared for the Cabinet.

I wonder if you have seen Jaisoorya's² (Sarojini Naidu's son) letter to the press. A brief reference to it appeared in the papers. Later I read the full letter in a Secunderabad newspaper. This letter is well written and is a powerful indictment of many things in Hyderabad. This can hardly be called an individual assessment. It does represent, I believe, a widespread opinion. I am led to believe that our work in Hyderabad has become rather static and is no longer producing substantial results. Progressively we lose the goodwill of various sections of the community. The Muslims generally continue to be apprehensive and frustrated. The State Congress people are equally unhappy from their own point of view. Who do we rely upon in Hyderabad? Obviously the present regime cannot continue for long. It has to give place to some other. There is the growing agitation for a dismemberment of the State into three areas. The communists, though more or less held in check, are still functioning and they are functioning in two ways, one in the affected districts as before, though somewhat on a lesser scale, and yet I believe Chaudhury has said that he expects an intensification of communist activities when the rains come.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. N.M. Jaisoorya (1899-1964); Vice-President, All Hyderabad Trade Union Conference; President, Hyderabad Motor Union; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57.

The second aspect seems to me even more important. This is a growing infiltration of ideas and sympathy with the communists. This may be partly positive and partly just a reaction to dislike of the present governmental authority.

There is, I think, a fairly widespread criticism of the large number of minor officials who have been pushed into responsible places. They are charged not only with inefficiency and incompetence but also with a lack of integrity.

When I was in Geneva early in May, the President of the Red Cross³ spoke to me about Hyderabad and more particularly about the Razakar prisoners. I gave him what I thought was a satisfactory reply. The Red Cross representative here in Delhi, Dr Marti, raised the question again yesterday and again I explained the situation to him.

Ramanand Tirtha⁴ came to see me a few days ago after he had seen you and repeated much that he had said to you. He was thoroughly unhappy and depressed about developments in Hyderabad.

What I am worried about is that progressively we have fewer and fewer groups and people in Hyderabad on whom we can rely. The present governmental apparatus cannot succeed without some kind of a popular support and this support seems to be fading away.⁵ Chaudhury and some others at the top are good. But then there is a big gap and the goodness is not very evident.

The recent story about eight communists being sentenced to death, including a young boy, was so badly handled that very few persons know the facts and I have received angry telegrams from Europe and America. The handling of this was referred to in Jaisoorya's letter.

I have put down some of my thoughts without much logical order because I wanted to convey to you a feeling of malaise that I have in regard to Hyderabad. It is a big, difficult and intricate problem and it may pursue us not only in the Security Council⁶ but more especially otherwise for a long time, unless our policy yields results.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. Paul Ruegger was the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, 1948-55.
4. President of the Hyderabad State Congress at this time.
5. On 1 December 1949, M.K. Vellodi took over as Chief Minister along with a council of ministers, replacing the existing administration.
6. India objected to a discussion of the Hyderabad question in the Security Council as Hyderabad was a part of India. However, the question was discussed on 19 and 25 May 1949.

7. To Sri Prakasa¹

New Delhi
6 June 1949

My dear Prakasa,²

I have just read your fortnightly letter of June 2nd to the Governor General. It is long but very interesting. I must congratulate on the excellent letters that you write.

There is one particular matter in it which has struck me specially. In paragraph 9 you refer to your visit to the Jorhat jail where you met the communist prisoners. You say, "It seems to me that quite a number of them were being detained unnecessarily; and that it was time that their cases were reviewed and they released."

I have little doubt that among the people who are detained in various parts of India, there are many who answer that description and whose detention is not very necessary. Such mistakes are perhaps inevitable. Nevertheless, we have to take as much care as possible to avoid them. Now that you have personally come across some people, who you think should not be detained, I hope you will take up this matter with your Premier. In the long run a policy which makes the innocent suffer does harm to us, so please deal with this matter as soon as you can.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Governor of Assam at this time.

4

POLITICAL PARTIES

III. Socialists

1. To Jayaprakash Narayan¹

New Delhi
May 14, 1949

My dear Jayaprakash,

Your letter of May 12th.² I have already told you that we are intensely interested in what is happening in Nepal and we are bringing continuous pressure on the Government, more especially in regard to political prisoners there. We shall continue to do this. You will appreciate that it is not possible for a government to deal publicly in such a matter. The case of Indonesia is very different.

You refer briefly to my press conference.³ I can assure you that I was neither impatient nor did I lose my temper and I do not in the least feel that I have a weak case. That of course does not mean that I am necessarily right. What I said at the press conference was that the socialists could not get out of their past complexes and this came in the way of their judging a situation in terms of actuality. I think I pointed out this to you and to others on several occasions during the past four years or so, ever since I came out of Ahmednagar prison. I think if you look back in this period, you might even agree with me somewhat that the Socialist Party's judgement of the situation and of what was likely to take place turned out to be wrong. I may be right or wrong about any particular matter. But I do feel that the Socialist Party is extraordinarily static in its approach to many problems, notably the foreign policy one. Lohia⁴, whom, as you know, I like very much, normally represents the Socialist Party's outlook on foreign affairs. I think he has been consistently wrong in this matter.

It is, as you know, the easiest thing in the world to break the Commonwealth link. There is no difficulty about it whatever and it can be done at any moment by any party. But any responsible government or party has necessarily to think of the advantages and disadvantages of doing so. The least that can be said is that it is unwise to proclaim a future policy in this regard without balancing all these factors and without knowing more or less what that future is going to be. We are apt to be too sure of our stability and security, internal as well as external. Taking that for granted, we proceed to endeavour to remodel the world. Yet the most powerful nations have to admit limitations to the accomplishment of their wishes

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Jayaprakash Narayan wrote that B.P. Koirala was on hunger strike along with three other prisoners since 1 May on the issue of better treatment to political prisoners. The Nepal Government, while describing the hunger-strikers as revolutionaries, refused to class them as political prisoners or give them any preferential treatment. He added that B.P. Koirala's wife and M.P. Koirala would meet Nehru in Delhi soon.
3. See *post*, Section 8, item 6.
4. Rammanohar Lohia.

and desires. The principal thing for India to aim at today is to ensure that stability and security so as to make as rapid progress internally as possible, and at the same time, of course, ensure that we have the fullest freedom to do what we like.

I hope you have nearly recovered.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
13 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Kripalani.² This was waiting for me here. Before I went to Dehra Dun, some Members of the Constituent Assembly spoke and wrote to me on this subject. There was some feeling that the steps taken were in excess of requirements and were creating needless ill will against the Government. This business of going in procession to an ambassador's house to present a request or a demand is evidently copied from what happens sometimes in foreign countries. Normally, the police just stops them or allows one or two persons to go and present their request. They do not arrest them unless they are violent, and even when arrested, they usually release them the same day or the next day without proceeding against them.

It is, I think, generally admitted that Lohia in taking a procession like this was acting very wrongly and irresponsibly. But a certain feeling of sympathy for him and his companions is widespread now because it is thought that they have been dealt with far too severely. I should like you to give thought to this matter. In the prevailing atmosphere of growth of ill will against the Government it is worthwhile our going slow and not producing the impression of punishing people too heavily for rather trivial offences.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, p. 240.

2. In his letter of 11 June, J.B. Kripalani, referring to the arrest of Lohia and his companions on 25 May during a demonstration before the Nepalese Embassy in support of the demands of the people of Nepal for political reforms, stated that the use of tear-gas on the demonstrators was in excess of what the situation demanded. He felt that their trial and continued detention would be of no advantage to the authorities and advised their release and withdrawal of the case.

3. To J.B. Kripalani¹

New Delhi
June 13, 1949

My dear Jivat,

I have just received your letter of the 11th June on my return from Dehra Dun. I agree with you that the tear-gas business was probably not necessary and some other step would have been simpler and more preferable. It is a little difficult for me to say how far it is possible to interfere with the judicial procedure once started. The whole thing, of course, was not a serious matter. I am enquiring into it.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

4. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
19 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 18 June about Lohia's case.² The facts of this case are well known and are not disputed. There is also a general disapproval of Lohia's action. But I find that this general disapproval has now taken the place of a widespread sympathy—not for his action but because of the prolonged proceedings and detentions in prison for over a month for a relatively trivial offence. People unconnected with politics have come to me and asked me why we are continuing this matter. It is being given publicity daily and exciting sympathy. Normally such offences are lightly treated in foreign countries and we are going much further

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 244-245.

2. In his letter Patel gave the details of Lohia's arrest and added: "There is some force in the contention that the matter could have been less seriously taken notice of. But consistent with the attitude we took when the Sikhs wanted to stage processions and other bodies also which have tried to do the same it is difficult for the local administration to allow a particular party to flout authority at will."

than is usually done. You must have seen the article in the *New Statesman*.³ That was not a balanced article but it represents widespread feeling in progressive circles in England. Our Government is considered more and more as a police State indulging in detentions and police actions and our reputation is fairly low abroad.

You refer to Mathai's visit to prison.⁴ He did not go as my representative but he had informed me of it and I saw no reason to object or to limit his freedom. Indu wanted to go also and I told her that she was free to do so if she so wished. She did not actually go. I would not have stopped her even if I thoroughly disapproved of her going. My own information is that Mathai's visit had very good results. It showed that while we took action on the part of Government because of a breach of the law, there was nothing personal about it.

We are rapidly getting out of touch with public opinion and becoming just a government and nothing more. An extreme development of this is Calcutta. But even in Delhi the Congress has hardly any position left. They are afraid of holding public meetings, unless some dominating personality is present. Unless we wake up to these realities, we shall be completely isolated.

The police are an essential force. But the police view of anything is seldom a right or balanced view. It is not the politician's or the statesman's view.

As for Nepal, conditions there have been very bad and we have addressed strong representations there. I think there is likely to be an upheaval there before very long.

I am greatly concerned with what I see happening all round me in the Congress world and find that we are progressively alienating many vital sections of the community. There are hardly any young people with us. The people who are still with us are either some relics of the past or some others who have no particular influence in moulding public opinion, or some against whom there is a great deal of public feeling.

It is in this context that I viewed Lohia's case and considered its prolongation unfortunate and harmful for our cause.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

3. The *New Statesman* of 4 June 1949, in an article entitled 'Amber light in India', commented: "The machine of repression has swept into its net some Socialists, Trade Unionists and other opponents of Congress who took no part in any criminal conspiracy. Sardar Patel has a rough fist and a strong will, but these discontents cannot be cured by coercion.... The danger that faces Congress is that it may, as the years go on, become a totalitarian party closely resembling the Kuomintang."
4. M.O. Mathai visited Lohia at the district jail on 7 June 1949 with a gift of mangoes. Patel, referring to the visit, and also subsequent visits by J.B. Kripalani and Sucheta Kripalani, wrote that an impression had been created that Mathai had gone as Nehru's representative.

5

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

1. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
24 May 1949

My dear President,

It appears to be taken for granted by some people that the Indian Republic will be proclaimed on August 15th. Personally I rather doubt both the feasibility and desirability of choosing that date. I hope that we may be able to finish the consideration of the Constitution and pass it finally by some time in July. That Constitution will have to contain some transitional clauses and much will depend on the nature of these clauses.² I think we should give a sufficient margin after that to allow us to do things properly. Thus the date to be fixed should be some time ahead.

It is clear that the full implementation of the new Constitution can only take place after the new elections etc. are over. These elections cannot take place, at the earliest, before the winter of 1950-51. We can hardly wait till then for the proclamation of the Indian Republic. Therefore some date will have to be fixed, much earlier than that when the Republic is proclaimed, in accordance with certain transitional clauses passed by the Constitution. What that date should be is a matter for us to consider and will depend on the nature of the steps to be taken by us as laid down in the transitional clauses.

From many points of view, a very suitable date would be January 26th. The only thing that can be said against it is that it is too far off. Some other earlier date may be chosen, but I rather doubt if it can be much earlier than October.

I have referred to the transitional clauses etc. Is it not desirable for thought to be given to them from now onwards? The Drafting Committee may do it or some other committee. There is no immediate hurry. Matter should not be left till the last stages.

According to newspaper reports you have said that it will be fit and proper that our original Constitution should be passed in Hindi.³ There can be little doubt that this would be a desirable thing to do. I feel however that this will be exceedingly difficult within the time allotted or indeed within any reasonable time. We have passed the Constitution clause-by-clause after much argument not only about general policies but also about words and phrases. Necessarily this had to be so because the Constitution has to be precise. If we try to pass a Hindi translation of this Constitution, we can hardly do so *en bloc* or as a whole. We shall have to

1. File No. 32(101)/48-PMS. Copies of this letter were sent to Vallabhbhai Patel, Gopalaswami Ayyangar and B.R. Ambedkar.
2. These were later incorporated in Articles 369 to 392 of the Constitution of India.
3. Rajendra Prasad stated on 18 May 1949: "It is in keeping with the national dignity that we should pass the Constitution in original in our national language."

go through the same process of clause-by-clause consideration and I have little doubt that there would be a great deal of argument about innumerable words and phrases, both from the linguistic and other points of view. The matter will drag on for months and probably give rise to a great deal of excitement.

As a matter of fact the question of a Hindi translation itself has not been finally decided. Various translations were made, completely differing from each other. Then you appointed a committee to coordinate them. That committee, I understand, is proceeding with this task, but meanwhile one member of that committee, in presenting a certain viewpoint, has apparently resigned because he felt that the approach of this committee was not in accordance with the directions that you gave. These directions were that the language should be precise and simple and, as far as possible, understood by most people. I believe that the committee has accepted as a basis for discussion one of the Hindi translations which, according to some people, is very difficult to understand, lacking in precision and is not even good Hindi. All these difficult questions have to be solved and I do not see how they can be solved in a way so as to produce a translation which can become the original of our Constitution in the course of the next two or three months.

As a matter of fact, the translation cannot be finalised till the English original has been finalised by the Constituent Assembly. That is to say, it is only after the Constitution has been passed in English that the Hindi translation can be finalised. Then will come the question of vetting this Constitution by the Constituent Assembly. That will take a lot of time.

It seems to me that the only feasible course is for the Constitution to be passed in English by the Constituent Assembly and to be adopted as such. Then the Hindi translation is proceeded with, first by an Expert Committee (non-members of the Constituent Assembly), secondly by a committee of the Constituent Assembly. They should take some time over it so that the work might be done well and not rushed through. The matter is too important to be dealt with casually. When the Hindi translation is finalised, this can also be adopted as an original text by the Constituent Assembly.⁴

I am putting forward these thoughts just for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The Hindi translation of the Constitution was prepared by a committee headed by Rajendra Prasad and was published on 26 January 1950. Experts in the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution helped in the project.

2. Age-Limit for Judges¹

Sir, I wish to say about one particular matter with which some amendments have dealt, that is, the age-limit of the Supreme Court judges. Some Members have proposed an amendment reducing the proposed age-limit to sixty; one of them suggested increasing it to sixty-eight. It is rather difficult to give any particular reasons for a particular age, sixty-five or sixty-six; there is not too much difference. After much thought, those of us who were consulted at that stage thought that sixty-five would be the proper age-limit.

This business of fixing age-limits in India in the past was, I believe, governed by entirely the service view. The British Government here started various services, the I.C.S. which was almost manned entirely by Britishers—and then, later on, some Indians came in—and other services. The whole conception of government was something revolving round the interests of the services. No doubt, these services served the country; I do not say anything against that. But, still, the primary consideration was the service and all these rules were framed accordingly.

Now, the other view is, how you can get the best service out of an individual for the nation. Each country spends a lot of money for training a person. Now, we have to get the best out of the training you give to a person. You should not, when he is quite trained and completely fit, discard him and get an untrained person to start afresh. Now, it is difficult, of course, to say when a person is not working to the peak of his capacity. In different professions the peak may be different with regard to age. Obviously a miner cannot work as a miner at sixty or anywhere near sixty. An intellectual worker may work more. So also about writers. It will be manifestly absurd to say that a writer must not write after a certain age, because he is intellectually weak. Or, for the matter of that, I rather doubt whether honourable Members of this Assembly will think of fixing an upper age-limit for membership of this Assembly or for any Cabinet ministership or anything of that kind. We do not do it. But the fact is, when you reach certain top grades where you require absolutely first-class personnel, then it is a dangerous thing to fix a limit which might exclude these first-rate men. I would give you one instance which came up in another place. It was the case of scientists. In such a case, can we say that he cannot work because he has reached the age of sixty? As a matter of fact some of the greatest scientists have done their finest work after they reached that age. Take Einstein. I do not know what his age is, but certainly it should be far above

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly in the course of a debate on the age-limit for judges of the Supreme Court, 24 May 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India Debates, Official Report*, Vol. VIII, 16 May to 16 June 1949, pp. 246-247.

sixty; and Einstein is still the greatest scientist of the age. Is any government going to tell him, "Because you are sixty, we cannot use you; you make your experiments privately?" There are some scientists in India—first-class scientists—and the question came up before me: should they retire? I pointed out that we are already short of first-rate men, and if you just push them out because of some rules fixed for some administrative purposes, which have nothing to do with the highest class of inventive brain work, it would be a calamity for us. We would not get even the few persons we have got for our purpose.

With regard to judges, and Federal Court judges especially, we cannot proceed on the lines of the normal administrative services. We require top men in the administrative services. Nevertheless, the type of work that a judge does is somewhat different. It is, in a sense, less physically tiring. Thus a person normally, if he is a judge, does not have to face storm and fury so much as an administrative officer might have to. But at the same time it is a highly responsible work, and in all countries, so far as I know, age-limits for judges are far higher. In fact there are none at all. In America the greatest judge that I believe the Supreme Court produced went on functioning till the age of ninety-two—Holmes²—and he went on functioning extremely well up to the age of ninety-two for thirty or forty years running. If you go to the Privy Council of England, I do not know what they are now, but some years back when I went there I saw patriarchs sitting there with long flowing beards, and their age might have been anything up to a hundred years, so far as looks were concerned. Maybe, you may over-do this type of thing. But the point is we must not look upon this merely as a question of giving jobs to younger people. When you need the best men, obviously age cannot be a criterion. A young man may be exceedingly good, an old man may be bad. But the point is if an old man has experience and is thoroughly fit, mentally and otherwise, then it is unfortunate and it is a waste from the State's point of view to push him aside, or force him to be pushed aside, and put in someone in his place who has neither the experience nor the talent, perhaps. We are going to require a fairly large number of High Court judges and Supreme Court judges. Of course the number of Supreme Court judges will be rather limited. Nevertheless, there are going to be more and more openings, and the personnel at our disposal is somewhat limited. Judges presumably in future will come very largely from the bar and it will be for you to consider at a later stage what rules to frame so that we can get the best material from the bar for the High Court or Federal Court judges. It is important that these judges should be not only first-rate but should be acknowledged to be first-rate in the country and of the highest integrity and, if necessary, people who can stand up against the executive government and whoever may come in their way. Now, taking all these into consideration I feel that the suggestion made by the Drafting

2. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr (1841-1935); Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Massachusetts, 1899; Judge of the U.S. Supreme Court, 1901-32; author of *The Common Law*.

Committee with regard to Federal Court judges, that the age-limit should be sixty-five, is by no means unfair, for it does not go beyond any reasonable age-limit that might be suggested. Many of us here are, as you are aware, dangerously near sixty or beyond it. Well, we still function, and function in a way which is far more exhausting and wearing than any High Court judge's can be. We are functioning presumably because in the kindness of your heart, in the country's heart, you put up with us, or think us necessary. Whatever it be, you can change us and push us out if you do not like us. There is no age-limit. But the High Court judges and Federal Court judges should be outside political affairs of this type and outside party tactics and all the rest, and if they are fit, they should certainly, I think, be allowed to carry on. Of course every rule that you may frame may give rise to some difficulties and undesirable men may carry on. But a man appointed to the Federal Court is presumably one who has gone through an apprenticeship in the High Court somewhere. He cannot be absolutely bad, otherwise he would not have got there. He must have justified himself in a High Court as Chief Justice or something. So you are fairly assured that he is up to a certain standard. If so, let him continue. Otherwise the risk is greater, of pushing out a thoroughly competent man because of the age-limit, because he has attained the age of sixty. So I beg the House to accept the age-limit of sixty-five for Federal Court judges that has been suggested.

3. Appointment of Governors¹

Sir, this debate has already elicited so many speeches that probably every conceivable argument for and against this proposal has been placed before the House. I do not know what I can add to it. I can well understand a certain amount of hesitation on the part of the House to reconsider something that it has already decided. That is right. Nevertheless it is pertinent to remember the time when we considered this first. It was in July 1947, when my honourable colleague, the Deputy Prime Minister, brought this matter before the House and the House then passed

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly in the course of a debate on appointment of Governors, 31 May 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India Debates, Official Report*, Vol. VIII, 16 May to 16 June 1949, pp. 454-456.

it.² Nearly two years have passed—two years which have made an enormous difference to the Indian scene. And if we seek to reconsider something that we have passed two years ago, before the 15th August, and in view of all that happened after the 15th August 1947, it should not appear to be a strange thing to do, for we have had a great deal of experience, bitter experience during this period. I submit therefore that it is perfectly open to us not only, as of course it is in law, but in reason to reconsider this matter. In fact in the course of the last year on numerous occasions committees of this House considered this and other matters not necessarily with a view to changing them but with a view to coordinating them. There was the Union Powers Committee; there was the Provincial Model Constitution Committee of which my colleague the Deputy Prime Minister was the Chairman. After all these considerations and discussions those committees felt that a certain change was desirable. Thus even those like Sardar Patel, who themselves put forward in this House the other view, felt that change would be desirable.³

Now the reasons for this have been stated before the House and I need not go into them, except to say that I myself originally was not very definite, if I may say so, in my mind as to which would be the preferable course. I preferred something but not to the extent of considering it as absolutely necessary. But the more I thought about it, the more I felt that from almost every point of view this proposal that is moved, of a nominated Governor, in the present context of the Constitution, was not only desirable from the practical point of view but from the democratic point of view too it was desirable and worthwhile.

Now, one of the things that we have been aiming at a great deal has been to avoid any separatist tendencies, the creation of groups, etc. We have decided that we will not encourage communalism; we have abolished separate electorates and reservation of seats, etc. We have yet to deal with many other separating factors. We cannot deal with them by law of course. We have to deal with minds and hearts. Nevertheless certain conventions and practice help or hinder the growth of separatist tendencies. I feel that if we have an elected Governor that would to some extent encourage that separatist provincial tendency more than otherwise. There will be far fewer common links with the Centre. There would, normally speaking

2. On 15 July 1947, Vallabhbhai Patel moved in the Constituent Assembly that, "for each province there shall be a Governor to be elected directly by the people on the basis of adult suffrage." He reasoned that though the Governor had very limited powers his direct election was necessary because of the dignity of the office which a popular Governor would hold and because a popularly elected Governor would exert considerable influence on the popular ministry as well as on the people of the province.
3. An amendment was considered desirable because an elected Governor, having popular backing, might interfere in the government and thereby cause a strain, subverting the democratic idea. So he should have powers to interfere only in emergencies and exceptional cases.

—almost inevitably, I imagine—be a person from that particular province who stands for the governorship. As has been stated he might be some kind of a rival almost in that particular majority group which for the moment controls the government of the province. Then there will be these enormous elections on the basis of adult suffrage. Apart from the tremendous burden of these elections for the provincial and Central legislatures, to add another election on this major scale would mean not only spending a tremendous deal of the energy and time of the nation but also the money of the nation and divert it from far more worthwhile projects. Apart from this it would undoubtedly mean, I think, encouraging that rather narrow provincial way of thinking and functioning in each province. Obviously, the provinces have autonomy. Obviously, the provincial governments will function in a provincial way representing the people. But are you going to help that tendency by also making the provincial Governor much more of a provincial figure than he need be? I think it would be infinitely better if he was not so intimately connected with the local politics of the province, with the factions in the province. And, as has been stated by Mr Munshi,⁴ would it not be better to have a more detached figure, obviously a figure that is acceptable to the province? Otherwise he could not function there. He must be acceptable to the province, he must be acceptable to the government of the province and yet he must not be known to be a part of the party machine of that province. He may be sometimes, possibly, a man from that province itself. We do not rule it out. But on the whole it probably would be desirable to have people from outside—eminent people, sometimes people who have not taken too great a part in politics. Politicians would probably like a more active domain for their activities but there may be an eminent educationist, or persons eminent in other walks of life, who would naturally, while cooperating fully with the government and carrying out the policy of the government, at any rate helping in every way so that that policy might be carried out, he would nevertheless represent before the public someone slightly above the party and thereby, in fact, help that government more than if he was considered as part of the party machine. I do submit that that is really a more democratic procedure than the other procedure in the sense that the latter would not make the democratic machine work smoothly.

After all what is the test of a democracy? Carried to extremes it may be perfectly democratic in the sense of elections everywhere but this may produce conflicts, with the result that the machine begins to creak. Look round the world today.

4. K.M. Munshi said that since the Governor was to have the power only to enforce reconsideration of decisions by the ministry, it might be better to have an independent person bringing a detached frame of mind on the questions rather than one who was more or less a nominee or a follower of the Prime Minister of the province. Also, in an emergency when the Governor had to act on his discretion, it would be better if he was not involved with the power politics of the province.

How many governmental machines are working smoothly, how many are creaking and how many are cracking up all the time for political or economic reasons? There are very, very few stable democratic machines anywhere. In providing for a stable democratic machine it is very important for us not to take any step which might tend towards loosening the fabric of India or loosening the governmental machinery and thus producing conflicts. We have passed through very grave times and we have survived them with a measure of success. We have still to pass through difficult times and I think we should always view things from this context of preserving the unity, the stability and the security of India and not produce too many factors in our constitutional machinery which will tend to disrupt that unity by frequent recourse to vast elections which disturb people's minds and at the same time divert a great deal of our resources towards electoral machines rather than towards the reconstruction of the country.

We must base democracy on the electoral process. We have done it. But the point is whether we should duplicate it again and again. That seems to me unnecessary, apart from leading to conflict and waste of energy and money and also leading to a certain disruptive tendency in this big context of an elective Governor plus parliamentary system of democracy. Therefore I should like to support fully the amendment proposed that the Governor should be a nominated Governor.⁵

One word more, Sir. I think that an elective Governor is almost invariably not only likely to be of that province, but is likely hardly ever to represent any of the numerous minority groups that exist in the country. Normally, of course, the majority will probably have this for one of its members. But it is obviously desirable that eminent leaders of minorities—I use the word for the sake of simplicity; in future I hope we will not use the words 'majority' and 'minority'—eminent leaders of groups should have a chance. I think they will have a far better chance in the process of nomination than in election.

5. The amendment moved by Brajeshwar Prasad stated that Article 131 be amended to read: "The Governor of a State shall be appointed by the President by warrant, under his hand and seal." It was adopted on 31 May 1949.

4. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
5 June 1949

My dear President,

Thank you for your letter of June 4th.² As regards the procedure you suggest, I take it that we are going on from day to day till we complete the present consideration of the Draft Constitution, probably by the end of July. I do hope that there is going to be no gap period and any recess before then. In effect I take it that the Constitution will be passed subject to verbal changes, arrangement, drafting, etc. I imagine that this business of careful drafting will take at least six weeks or even two months. After the final passing of it at what is called the third reading, we have to consider the date for its being put into practice. I do not myself see how this can be much earlier than November. I take it that if the Assembly meets for the last time for the third reading, it will take a few days and the date we fix must be some distance ahead to allow for various preparations to be made. If the date falls somewhere in November or December, then probably it will be suitable to fix the 26th January, which is from every point of view an auspicious day. However, this can only be considered after we have finished the second reading and know exactly where we are.

As regards the adoption of a Hindi version of the Constitution, I confess I rather doubt the feasibility of the proposal you make, that is that a day in the week should be set aside for considering the Hindi version. Apart from this delaying the consideration of the English draft, I am sure this consideration of the Hindi translation will be no simple matter and will give rise to fierce argument at every step and on almost every word. It will thus tend to raise passions which will be reflected in the consideration of the English version and delay matters there. Looking at the Hindi version as originally prepared, I am completely at sea because I do not understand it at all.

I think it is inevitable that the English Constitution should be considered the authoritative one. Many years after, the Hindi version may have equal or greater authority. You mention the case of Ireland. I might inform you that I had a talk about this with the Prime Minister of Ireland and he told me that they found it

1. File No. CA/28/Cons/49-III, Constitution Section, Ministry of Law.
2. Rajendra Prasad suggested that the Constitution could be put into effect by 2 October 1949. He also urged that the Hindi version of the Constitution should also be considered authoritative with the proviso that in case of conflict over meaning, the English version might be considered authoritative for the first ten or fifteen years. The Hindi version should be open to easy amendment so that after fifteen years it became sufficiently improved and crystallised and was used commonly. He referred to Ireland where amendments to the Gaelic version of the Constitution were being effected without corresponding amendments to the English version.

very difficult to carry on with Gaelic and were reverting more and more to English. In fact they had always used far more English than Gaelic. During my stay in Dublin, I visited the Dail. Every speech and question was in English, as well as the answer. Formally by law they have named their country now Ireland and not Eire.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To B.N. Rau¹

New Delhi
8 June 1949

My dear B.N.,

I have not written to you since you went to Lake Success. But I have been following with interest and appreciation the work you have been doing, more particularly the fine speech you delivered when the Hyderabad issue was before the Security Council.

Here we are plodding along with the Constituent Assembly and the Constitution. Progress has been fairly rapid, but this is chiefly due to the fact that we go on postponing the consideration of controversial issues. Anyway, the programme now is to finish the Constitution, minus the matters held over, by the end of this month. Then, maybe in July, to take up those controversial matters and discuss them at some leisure. We ought to finish this second reading business by the end of July or somewhat earlier. After that the whole Constitution as passed at the second reading should be carefully vetted by experts and draftsmen. It will be necessary perhaps to rearrange some parts of it and to improve the wording purely from drafting point of view. We are allowing six weeks to eight weeks for this. We meet again for the last time as Constituent Assembly to pass the third reading and thus finalise the measure. If possible, we would like to do this last act on October 2nd, Gandhiji's birthday. But it does not much matter if it goes beyond that date by some days.

There will, of course, be some transitional clauses and a date will have to be fixed for the inauguration of the Republic, and some time will have to be given for preparations for the change-over. We feel that the appropriate date from every point of view for the new Republic to begin its career will be January 26th, 1950. That gives us ample time.

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

I understand you will be coming here fairly soon, though I do not know the date yet. We require your help very much during these last stages....

You know that I intend visiting the U.S. next October.

I am being overwhelmed already by invitations. At the most I shall spend three weeks there. That is much too short a time for that huge country but I cannot afford more.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To B.R. Ambedkar¹

New Delhi
8 June 1949

My dear Ambedkar,

I am writing to you about the Hindu Code. You will remember that during the last session of Parliament it was more or less agreed that we should try to meet people informally during this interval and try to reduce points of difference. There is still plenty of time for the next session of Parliament. But it is as well to start fairly early with these talks. I know that all of us, and more specially you, are frightfully busy at present with the Constituent Assembly and other matters. Still, I should like you to think both of an appropriate date, say some time in July, and the people to be invited for these talks. This should be done in as informal a way as possible.

It seems to me that it will be very difficult to have a special session of Parliament for the Hindu Code Bill. We are going to be kept pretty busy with our normal activities and sessions for the rest of this year. It also seems clear that unless some kind of a general agreement is arrived at, the Bill will be bitterly contested and would take a mighty long time in Parliament. Thus there is a great danger of nothing finally emerging from it before the Republic is established. That would be a pity. I think it is better for us even to give in on a point or two in a sense rather than take the risk of having the whole thing sabotaged. I do not mean giving in in the sense of giving up anything that we value, but rather of isolating one or two points

1. J.N. Collection.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

and dealing with them separately, if necessary. Thus we could have a more or less agreed measure of consolidation passed through and deal with the other one or two points separately.

Anyway I should like you to give thought to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
14 June 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th June² about what the Premier of Assam wrote to me regarding the relationship between Governors and the provincial governments. I agree with you in what you have written and I have written to Bardoloi accordingly.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Commenting on Bardoloi's views on the dual capacity of the Governor, namely, as Governor of the province and as Agent of the Central Government for the tribal areas, Rajagopalachari wrote that if the object was to secure coordination between the administration of the province and that of the neighbouring tribal areas, the Governor should take the provincial ministry fully into confidence in the matter of his Agency functions. Unlike earlier times, when the Governor had overriding powers, he should try to reach as large a measure of agreement as possible with the ministry, though in case of difference of opinion he should act in accordance with the direction of the Central Government.
3. The same day Nehru conveyed to Bardoloi the views of Rajagopalachari on the subject.

8. To K.M. Munshi¹

New Delhi
14 June 1949

My dear Munshi,

I discussed your note about the future Constitution of Delhi² with Sardar Patel. He and I agreed that something on the lines indicated should be done. We were doubtful however about the inclusion of the High Court in this scheme. This would complicate and delay matters. I appreciate that there is some feeling on this subject in Delhi and therefore some change should be made to the present practice. But this should be considered separately.

I suggest that you might draft a Bill on the lines indicated, but leaving out the High Court part. We can then consider it in Cabinet.

Both Sardar Patel and I were of opinion that this should not be part of the Constitution.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 28(15)/56-57-PMS.
2. Under the Constitution of India, Delhi became a Part 'C' State, responsibility for the administration of which rested with the President acting through a chief commissioner appointed by him.

9. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi
19 June 1949

My dear Premier,

I enclose a copy of a letter² I have received from His Excellency the Governor General in regard to a Bombay Bill³ which has been sent to him for his assent. I entirely agree with the observations made by His Excellency. I think it would be wrong for us to label the Ayurvedic and Unani systems as Indian to the exclusion

1. File No. 7(171)/49-PMS.
2. On 19 June 1949, C. Rajagopalachari suggested a change in the phraseology of a Bill sent to him for approval in which the Ayurvedic and Unani systems had been referred to as "Indian systems of medicine." It seemed to exclude other systems as non-Indian, causing confusion specially to governments and scientists abroad.
3. The Bombay Bill sought to amend the Bombay Medical Practitioners' Act, 1938, for the purpose of establishing a faculty for Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine with provisions for discipline and control of the practitioners of these systems.

of other systems. Factually this is not correct, as the Unani system is practised elsewhere also. Besides there are other Indian systems. I suggest therefore that your Government might agree to the change proposed by the Governor General.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. To B.R. Ambedkar¹

New Delhi
19 June 1949

My dear Ambedkar,

The Governor General has sent me copies of correspondence in regard to ordinances submitted to him for his signature. I think that the point made by the Governor General² has force and, normally, any ordinance sent to him should bear the signature of the Minister in charge and the Law Minister. If some unforeseen emergency occurs, when either of these Ministers are unable to sign owing to illness or absence, then perhaps their signatures may be dispensed with. But otherwise it seems to me not only right and proper but the obvious course for the Minister concerned and the Law Minister to sign the proposed ordinance before the Governor General is asked to do so. Either the ordinance is in order or it is not. If it is in order, then the Ministers have no difficulty in signing them. If it is not, then the Governor General cannot be expected to sign it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 96(3)-GG/49, President's Secretariat. Also available in J.N. Collection.
2. On 18 June 1949, Rajagopalachari conveyed to Nehru that the legality of the ordinances he received for his approval should be thoroughly analysed in the Law Ministry and the proposals signed by the Law Minister. Otherwise the Governor General might place himself in an awkward situation by signing them.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION**I. Appointments and Salaries**

1. Recruitment to the Administrative Services¹

It seems to me that the present arrangements for recruiting men or women to the Indian Administrative Services might prove inadequate. As it is, there is a lack of competent persons in the Service.² In future the demand is likely to be much greater than in the past because of progressive socialisation as well as the inclusion of States' areas in India. I do not know if the Home Ministry has thought of this question in terms of the future. We have been proceeding from hand to mouth and I am afraid our standards have fallen in consequence. We cannot suddenly raise standards, but in thinking of the future, we might start preparations to meet it from now onwards.

2. There is the question of numbers and there is the question of quality. Recently, a Scientific Manpower Committee was appointed to consider the number and type of scientifically and technically trained men and women that we are likely to require.³ Suggestions were then made as to how to train these people. Similarly the problem of the Administrative Services might be viewed from this point of view of how many are likely to be required in the course of the next few years and, generally speaking, of what quality or calibre they should be. I should personally imagine that the number of persons recruited will be totally inadequate in future and something on a much bigger scale must be thought of and arranged for.

3. There is another train of thought that might be worth pursuing. At the present moment we recruit for the Administrative Services through competitive examinations. Perhaps this is the most feasible method and anyhow it should continue, till a better method is evolved. At the same time we see a different method followed in our Defence Services, that is, much younger men are taken in—say about sixteen or so—and trained from that age onwards. The initial training is really not of a military kind, but more meant for character building. I wonder if it could be

1. Note to the Ministry of Home Affairs, 14 May 1949. File No. 35(5)/48-PMS.
2. In the first open competitive examination for entry into the Indian Administrative Service held in 1947, only thirty-seven persons were appointed against two hundred and fifty-five vacancies created by the withdrawal of British personnel from India. The void was sought to be filled by emergency recruitment from the Provincial Civil Service cadres, from those with war service, and from the "open market" of those who could be trained within a reasonably short time to undertake responsibility.
3. The Scientific Manpower Committee was constituted under the Ministry of Education on 20 April 1947 with Shanti Swaroop Bhatnagar as chairman. Its task was to assess the requirements of scientific and technical personnel in relation to the post-war development programme and to suggest steps to increase facilities in the field.

possible or desirable to think of some such training for the Administrative Service also. It might be possible to try both methods at the same time, that is, the competitive examination and the training of younger people who might subsequently sit in the competitive examination also.

4. It seems to me that the quality of our civil service will have to be high, if they are to shoulder the tasks of tomorrow. These tasks are likely to be more difficult and more complicated than in the past, as inevitably the State spreads out more and more in what has been considered private domain. A great deal of character and integrity would be needed if we are to succeed in this and mere examinations are not quite enough.

5. I should like the Home Ministry to give thought to this matter and perhaps put forward some proposals.

2. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
2 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I got your telephone message this morning about the Air Licensing Board and judges' salaries. I am sorry you were inconvenienced by these matters suddenly appearing on the Cabinet agenda.

As regards judges' salaries, Ambedkar sent me a note for the Cabinet two days ago. I told him that I could not put it up before you had considered it fully. Soon after I got your note on the same subject.² I therefore decided to put up both the notes before the Cabinet, but I informed Ambedkar that we would not discuss this matter at present, or at any rate come to a decision.³ The papers have therefore been circulated, but nothing more has been done. The next Cabinet meeting is on Tuesday, 7 June, at 12 noon. If you would care to write more fully on this subject, we shall circulate your views. Your telephone message has been circulated.

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. In his note of 31 May, Patel said that he agreed with Nehru and Kania, Chief Justice of India, that the salaries of judges should be fixed in the Constitution in order to attract first-rate men. He also suggested salaries and allowances for the posts. B.R. Ambedkar, while agreeing with the need to fix the salaries of judges in the Constitution, felt that the salaries suggested by Patel were in some cases too high.
3. The salaries of judges appointed before 31 October 1948 were higher than those of judges appointed after that date, under an agreement reached between the justices in the former category and the Government.

About the Air Licensing Board,⁴ most of us are of opinion that there should be an independent chairman as you have suggested. We do not think that a departmental man as chairman would be suitable. We have suggested therefore that someone else should be selected. The matter will come up again. The real difficulty is that the chairman has very little work to do and to employ a whole-time officer of that grade does seem rather a waste of time and money.

Apart from this, the whole question of the future of the air services was considered by some members of the Cabinet yesterday. A serious situation has arisen, as you know, by the collapse of two or three or more companies. A large number of their Dakotas have been grounded and they would probably go to pieces, if not looked after. Their crews and trained technicians have also become unemployed. We have suggested to Defence to employ such as they need and to buy some of the Dakotas as a reserve. We have also called for an urgent meeting of the representatives of the air services that are functioning now.

I understand that you were rather worried about the news in the papers regarding observers for the Pondicherry customs barrier.⁵ I was much put out by this also. The odd thing is that we have received no information of any kind, official or non-official, about this matter. We have only seen the news in the press. The French Government is behaving in a very bad way altogether. We have decided to tell them plainly that we are not going to acknowledge any plebiscite that is held under these conditions, when we are not even consulted about any matter.⁶

Archibald Nye, U.K. High Commissioner, came to see me yesterday immediately after his return from London. He conveyed a message from Attlee to me about Hong Kong. The U.K. Government are worried about this matter, as they think there might be a possibility of the Chinese communists attacking Hong Kong. This, in any event, cannot take place for another three months. But they want to be ready for emergencies. They informed us that they propose sending reinforcements there and they wanted our moral support. I do not propose to get entangled in this business. No one knows what events will take place during the next three months. I shall send you a copy of my reply to Attlee.⁷

4. An Air Transport Licensing Board was constituted in July 1946 and from October 1946 no scheduled air service could operate except under a license granted by the Board.
5. On 31 March 1949, when the Customs Union Agreement with the French settlements of Pondicherry and Karaikal lapsed, the Government of India declared all French settlements as "foreign territory" and, pending renewal of the agreement, put up a customs barrier. France termed this as an economic blockade and on its complaint the International Court of Justice decided to send observers to Pondicherry to ensure that the proposed plebiscite in the French possessions was held free of economic pressure from India.
6. On 3 June 1949, India protested to France against her unilateral reference of the question of referendum to The Hague Court in violation of her agreement of 1948 with India under which the terms of reference were to be bilaterally decided.
7. See *post*, Section 9, sub-section I(i), item 1.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

You will have seen that we have decided to send a company of troops to Gangtok in Sikkim from Darjeeling. The situation there has been bad.⁸ Keskar⁹ went there last week and gave us a full report. We have to find a suitable administrator and I understand that the States Ministry has suggested some name.

Amrit Kaur is going early tomorrow morning to England.¹⁰ She will be away for about six or seven weeks. There has been some hullabaloo in the Assembly circles about the temporary appointment of Jivraj Mehta to function in the Health Ministry for seven weeks. Why this shouting, I do not understand, except that there are strong personal prejudices not only against Amrit Kaur but also against Jivraj Mehta. It was a natural thing for us to get the services of Jivraj Mehta for a few weeks, because he knew the job and it was very good of him to agree to take it up in voluntary capacity.

The Constituent Assembly goes on from day to day and I have put an appearance there every morning and sometimes speak. Every evening I go to Party meetings for some time also. It is not a very exhilarating experience. It is quite impossible for me to follow closely all that is happening. But whenever anything important comes up, I try to take part. We are reserving some important questions for next month, when you return here. Otherwise the progress is fairly good.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

8. After the failure of negotiations between the Sikkim State Congress and the Darbar for the installation of a popular ministry, the palace was besieged on 1 May 1949 by agitators demanding popular rule in the State. The Maharaja, who escaped attack with the help of the Indian Army, agreed to the formation of a ministry headed by Tashi Tschering. The conflict between the State Congress and the Maharaja continued and on 2 June troops were sent to Gangtok to assist the Political Officer in maintaining peace.
9. B.V. Keskar, Deputy Minister, Ministry of External Affairs.
10. Amrit Kaur, Minister for Health, led the Indian delegation to the World Health Organisation conference in Rome. Her visit to London *en route* was to study the housing and living conditions of students there.

3. A Dewan for Sikkim¹

The attached telegram from Dayal² indicates that he has not been very happy about our sending some troops to Gangtok.³ I do not understand why he is so anxious to send back the troops.

Did we not tell him that we were considering the appointment of an officer to serve as some kind of a Dewan. There is no question at present of the Government of India assuming immediate control over the administration of Sikkim. But if an officer is appointed by us, he would in fact take final orders from us, though he may be functioning under the Maharaja and the Ministry.⁴

I suggest that Dayal might be informed of this position. We hope to send an officer soon. Meanwhile the presence of a small military force with him should be helpful and should be a kind of insurance against civil trouble. If he likes, he can only keep the twenty men who had reached him already. The rest can go back and be ready to come to him on demand.

The question of our assuming direct control over the administration of Sikkim can only arise if other methods have failed.⁵

1. Note to the Secretary General and Foreign Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 3 June 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Harishwar Dayal (1915-1964); joined I.C.S., 1937; served in various capacities in Bihar and Orissa, 1937-42, and in the External Affairs Department, 1944-48; Political Officer in Sikkim, 1948-52, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1952-56; Minister in the Embassy of India in Washington, 1956-59; Ambassador to Nepal, 1960-64.
3. Dayal telegraphed from Gangtok on 3 June that troops had arrived there without adequate notice whereas it was agreed with Keskar that an officer should first come over to discuss procedure for requisitioning military help while troops stood by in Darjeeling, their arrival coinciding with assumption of control of the State's administration by the Government of India. "In the circumstances real purpose of their visit has not been made public." He suggested that one platoon be withdrawn and the remainder quartered in the Residency.
4. Dayal had stated that the Ministers were determined to retain office and act independently of the Maharaja in case of disagreement. He suggested that either the Government of India should ask them to resign or the Maharaja should dismiss them. In either case India would have to nominate a Dewan immediately, the Political Officer being in direct control till his arrival.
5. Following a breakdown of law and order, the Political Officer assumed responsibility for the administration of Sikkim on 7 June on the request of the Maharaja. J. S. Lal was later nominated as Dewan.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

II. Corruption

1. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
May 18, 1949

My dear Matthai,

I have often received complaints about the behaviour of Customs officials in Bombay and Calcutta. Once or twice I forwarded these complaints to your office. Today B.G. Kher, Premier of Bombay, came to see me and said that he was much exercised about this matter. He was convinced that the Customs people in Bombay were behaving very badly to people who arrive there and were making money out of it. He gave me some instances.

His Government had suggested to the Chief Customs Officer there that he might keep in touch with the Bombay Government so as to facilitate work. The answer he received was not helpful and in fact they practically refused to have any dealings with the Bombay Government saying that they were an all-India service.

As a matter of fact the Bombay Government has established some kind of a convention in their dealings with various all-India services such as Posts and Telegraphs, certain railways, income-tax, all-India Police, etc. They keep in touch with each other and the convention works well and is to the advantage of all concerned. But the Customs people would not fall in line in this way.

Some time back, V.K. Krishna Menon, our High Commissioner in London, complained to me of the unnecessary delays he had been caused by the Customs in Bombay, although he had a diplomatic passport. I am particularly concerned about foreign diplomats and visitors arriving here. No one wants the Customs people to be slack in their work. But I suppose efficiency can be coordinated with courtesy and speed. I shall be grateful if you could kindly look into this matter. Perhaps you could meet Kher while he is here for the Constituent Assembly and have a talk with him.

The case of a C.P. Minister was once sent by me to your office. Another case brought to my notice is that of Pranlal Kapadia who came back from Japan to Calcutta, bringing with him some very cheap bamboo articles which were produced as village industries in Japan. He brought them as samples. An article worth probably less than a pice was charged twelve annas duty. That seems rather exorbitant, but if that is the rule, nothing more need be said about it. What was worse was the other difficulties he had. And apparently the only easy way of getting out of them is to pay something privately to the officers concerned!

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
May 18, 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Newspapers contain a report of a long interview which you are said to have given in which you have criticized the administration generally on various grounds, and more specially corruption in the lower ranks. It is even stated in this report that you accused some ministers also of being guilty in this way.²

A statement by you of this kind will naturally produce a very powerful impression in the public mind. It may even have an effect the reverse of that intended by you. Because, if people feel that conditions all round are bad, there is an inclination for others to function likewise.

But I am specially interested in your reference to ministers. There are a large number of ministers in India, both Central and provincial and State. A general remark like the one you are reported to have made will no doubt be quoted against all ministers.

I shall be grateful if you could indicate to me, secretly of course, what specific cases you had in mind when you gave that interview so that I might enquire further into the matter and possibly take such steps as may be necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Rajendra Prasad was the President of the Constituent Assembly at this time.
2. In a statement on 18 May Rajendra Prasad denied having said that "there is corruption on a large scale among the ministers and officials" in the course of an interview given to some journalists and published in the *Indian News Chronicle* of 17 May. He further said, "It is no use complaining of corruption. If there is corruption we are all to blame... we should turn the searchlight inwards and find out if the fault lies with us. If all of us did that, there would be no corruption."

3. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
June 6, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

I have your letter of the 6th June enclosing the draft letter to be sent to Trivedi.

1. File No. 70-GG/49, President's Secretariat.

Trivedi wrote briefly to me on this subject.² I do not know how far matters have gone and whether it will be possible or desirable to institute a kind of committee you suggest. But, in any event, I think the suggestion might well be made. If the Governor and the Premier agree, they can go ahead with this. If they see any objections to it, the matter can be further considered.

You will remember the trouble we have had in Bihar where many charges have been made against the Government. Ultimately the Congress Working Committee referred this matter to Sardar Patel.³ He has been carrying on some kind of an investigation. The facts appear to be more or less admitted and they are not complimentary to the Government.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. C.M. Trivedi, in his letters of 3 June to Nehru and Rajagopalachari, had reported about raids carried out by the East Punjab C.I.D. in the province in connection with serious irregularities relating to steel permits. Investigations were still proceeding but apparently several M.L.A.s belonging to rival groups were involved. On 6 June, Rajagopalachari wrote to Nehru that the matter might have repercussions on provincial politics and wished to suggest to Trivedi a quasi-judicial investigation by a committee, comprising a high court judge, a senior police officer and an experienced accountant from outside the province, to be followed by trial by a relevant judicial tribunal.
3. On 5 April 1949.

4. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya¹

New Delhi
June 15, 1949

My dear Pattabhi,

I have been reading in the newspapers about Shankarrao Deo having gone to Madras, presumably under your directions, to hold an enquiry into certain charges against the Madras ministers.² Almost daily there is some reference to this matter or

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Shankarrao Deo, General Secretary, A.I.C.C., reached Madras on 13 June to enquire into charges made by T. Prakasam and some members of the Madras Legislature against certain ministers and Congressmen of Madras.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shankarao makes a statement.³ I do not myself know what these charges are. No doubt, if serious charges are made, there should be enquiry. But I do not understand why all this publicity is being given. Obviously no ministry can function if it is treated in this way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 13 June, Shankarao Deo stated in Madras that "it would be a sort of departmental enquiry." Those against whom allegations were made were not more than ten, five or six of them being ministers. He said that allegations against ministers pertained to misuse of ministerial power and position, while the other Congressmen might be friends of ministers and "might have used their influence" without the knowledge of ministers.

5. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
June 18, 1949

My dear Premier,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th June with its enclosures. Your letter is a very long one and deals with a number of complaints, most of them dealing with the administration of Bettiah Estate.² I have read through your letter. I confess I am not satisfied on the major issue. I cannot understand how lands belonging to a Court of Wards Estate can be given to anybody for any reason whatsoever. If Government wants to be generous and charitable, it should adopt other ways of doing so, although even then it will be dealing with public funds.

I do not wish to say anything more about this at present, as I understand that Sardar Patel is conducting an enquiry into it at the instance of the Congress Working Committee. But I should like to say this that there is a great deal of dissatisfaction among members of the Constituent Assembly and elsewhere at a number of

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Bettiah Raj Estate in Champaran had been under the management of a Court of Wards since 1897 as its Maharani was incapable of running the zamindari after the Maharaja's death. On 30 March 1949, several legislators criticised the Bihar Government in the Assembly for unfair treatment to the Maharani, who was then living in Allahabad, failure to help the tenants of Bettiah and, unfair settlement of the Raj lands.

happenings in Bihar, notably the molasses affair and the Bettiah Estate affair. The facts should be gone into thoroughly. But it is itself a fact that large numbers of people should make serious allegations against one of our governments. We are a democratic government and we subsist on the basis of popular trust in our integrity and efficiency. If that trust goes, then we have no business to continue as a government.

I have heard it stated that as a defence of what has happened in some cases in Bihar, it has been said that this is a common practice, though it may not be up to Gandhian standards. Few of us can live up to the standards of Mahatma Gandhi. Nevertheless the Congress, consisting of humbler folk like us, has attempted to maintain high standards of public conduct. The allegations made in Bihar do not come up to any standard, high or low, and I have been greatly distressed at the persistence of these complaints that have been made, which bring Congress reputation down to the lowest level. So far as I am concerned, I do not wish to be associated with a government, if that government functions at a level of public conduct which I consider low and undesirable.

The lesson of the recent South Calcutta election cannot be ignored by any of us. That election was lost, and lost badly, because large numbers of people lost their belief in the integrity of the Bengal Congress and the Bengal Government.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION
III. Labour

1. To B.R. Ambedkar¹

New Delhi
17 May 1949

My dear Ambedkar,

I have been told that you are President of the Union of municipal employees in the city of Bombay who have recently gone on an illegal strike.² If this information is correct, I feel I must write and tell you that, in my opinion, Cabinet Ministers should not accept any official position in trade unions and I hope you will resign your position from the Bombay Union. In any case, I shall be glad if you will use your influence, which I know is considerable among municipal employees of Bombay, for calling off this strike. I am sure you will agree that while illegal strikes ought to be deplored in any industry, they are particularly harmful in a service such as a municipality.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Nine thousand workers of the Bombay Municipal Corporation went on a lightning strike from 13 May, demanding increased wages, reduced working hours, house allowances and abolition of the daily wage system

2. To B.R. Ambedkar¹

New Delhi
May 18, 1949

My dear Ambedkar,

I wrote to you yesterday about the strike that is going on in Bombay, presumably organised by the Bombay Municipal Kamgar Sangh. I had a talk with B.G. Kher, Premier of Bombay, on this subject. He has also given me copies of correspondence and other papers in this connection. He showed me also your letter to him dated the 17th May.

1. J.N. Collection.

I do not wish to enter into the merits of this strike and as to whether it is legal or illegal.² That is a matter which will have to be determined by proper legal authorities. For the present it is a fact that the Bombay Government considers, for a variety of reasons, that the strike is illegal. In any event it is a strike which affects one of the essential services of the city of Bombay and therefore the general convenience of the public. As you know, we have often discussed this question of strikes in essential services.

It appears from the papers given to me that the Bombay Municipal Commissioner suggested arbitration but this was refused by the Municipal Kamgar Sangh. This fact by itself appears to put the Kamgar Sangh in the wrong.

However, what concerns me most is your position vis-a-vis this Union, the Bombay Municipal Kamgar Sangh. You have been a President of this Union and apparently continue as such. Kher informs me that you told him that you had taken no active part in the Union since 1942 when you first became a Member of the Government of India. Nevertheless, I take it that you have continued as President. I am quite clear that it is not desirable for any Member of Government to be associated in this way with a Union which comes into conflict with Government, either provincial or Central. I hope, therefore, that you will immediately resign from this office and dissociate yourself from the activities of the Union. I hope also, as stated in my letter yesterday, that you will exercise your influence to put an end to the strike which must necessarily do injury both to the public and to the strikers.

In your letter to Kher you say that you are prepared to help in arriving at a peaceful settlement if the parties to the dispute care to take advantage of your offer. I do not quite understand this. You can hardly function as an arbitrator when you are yourself formally the President of the Union. But apart from this, no Member of a Central Government ought to be placed in the position of an arbitrator in a matter which may well come up before the Government later in some form or other.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. In his letter to Kher, Ambedkar wrote that the strike by the municipal workers was not illegal as they had given one month's notice instead of fourteen days' which was sufficient to satisfy the conditions of a legal strike. He contended that the provisions of the Bombay Municipal Servants Act, 1890, and the Bombay Public Security Measures Act, 1947, on which the Bombay Municipal Commissioner had relied, must be read subject to the provisions of the Central Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, under which the strike was legal.

3. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
May 25, 1949

My dear Krishna,

I have received your letter of the 16th May about the I.N.T.U.C. proposing to join with the American Federation of Labour and the British T.U.C. in a new World Federation of Trade Unions. I did not know anything about this matter. I enquired from Harihar Nath Shastri this evening. He told me that there had been some talk of this, but they had no present intention of joining up with anybody. They had invited the A.F.L. and the British T.U.C. to send fraternal delegates to their session at Jaipur. Similarly they have also been invited to send fraternal delegates.

I suggested to Harihar Nath Shastri that it would be desirable to keep out of any grouping like the proposed World Federation of Trade Unions. They may keep friendly terms but not tie themselves down with anyone. He agreed with me.

You may have seen the news item that the Bombay Government had banned the meeting of A.I.T.U.C. in Bombay. This is not strictly accurate. What had happened was that a number of strikes as well as hunger strikes were going on in Bombay and the situation was not good. There was a general order banning meetings and processions in certain areas. When the application was made on behalf of the A.I.T.U.C., the Police Commissioner, without reference to the Provincial Government, refused to give permission on the grounds of the general ban. A few days later, the Bombay Government informed the A.I.T.U.C. that permission would be given to them to hold their session, if they applied for it. I do not know if a fresh application has been made.

Yours.
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

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MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

IV. Minorities

1. To Tara Singh¹

New Delhi
May 10, 1949

Dear Master Tara Singh,

I returned from Europe three days ago and your letter of the 19th April was placed before me day before yesterday.²

2. You have made two demands in your letter and have asked Sardar Patel and me to endorse these demands.³ You will appreciate, I hope, that it would hardly be proper for either of us to endorse or present a demand before the Advisory Committee or the Constituent Assembly, both of which are going to meet soon to consider the minorities' problems. This Committee is especially charged with this work, and the Assembly, representing the people of India as a whole, has the power of decision in this matter. It would be improper and discourteous for any of us to present something in the nature of an accomplished fact either to the Advisory Committee or to the Constituent Assembly. We are unable, therefore, to endorse any demand or to give any assurance in the matter.

3. I can assure you, however, that we are all anxious to see that full justice is done to all communities in India, including the Sikhs, and that their legitimate demands for protection, in so far as they are consistent with national interests, are met. It follows, therefore, that we cannot be a party to any arrangement which is patently unfair to any community. We are convinced that India as a nation cannot progress and fulfil her destiny, unless every group and community has the fullest freedom and opportunity to progress and develop itself. We have seen and indeed have had bitter experience of past policies which have divided and separated India in the name of helping a particular community. You are well aware of the terrible results that have flowed from this policy. It would be extreme folly on our part if we did not profit by this experience. This presupposes, therefore, that each community, in so far as it must look to its own particular interests, must do so in the background of, and with due regard to, national interests. Perpetuation of communal or separatist tendencies by means of constitutional provisions, in particular, has caused India a great deal in valuable human lives, in property and in national interests. We must, therefore, avoid at all cost encouraging any communal or separatist tendencies and try to eradicate them from people's minds and hearts.

1. J.N. Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to Vallabhbhai Patel.
2. On 19 April, Tara Singh addressed a letter to Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel from the Varanasi jail. As Nehru was out of the country he wrote again on 6 May from the Almora jail.
3. Tara Singh demanded that the depressed classes among the Sikhs and the Hindus should have the same privileges and concessions without any distinction on the basis of religion. He also asked for the creation of a Punjabi-speaking province or some other arrangements "so that the bulk of the Sikh population shall not live under Hindu domination on provincial basis."

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I realise that this is not done by our merely saying so. But if we strictly adhere to this policy and make a sustained effort in this direction, I have every hope that we shall get rid of these evil tendencies.

4. You refer to the Congress resolution of 1929.⁴ That resolution was passed in accordance with the general Congress policy of making communal arrangements with the consent of the parties concerned. It was passed twenty years ago in the peculiar circumstances then existing, and the British power was dominant in India at the time and was playing off one community against another. I think it can be truly said that in 1929 and later, the Congress followed that resolution strictly in so far as the Sikhs were concerned. But no individual or group or community can claim to exercise a veto on the growth of a nation; nor can it limit or circumscribe the powers of a sovereign legislature. We are an independent nation today and, for the present, the Constituent Assembly represents the legislative authority of the nation. It is for that Assembly to decide, as it will be for future parliaments to decide, what decisions should be taken in any matter affecting the Constitution or other laws of the land. That decision, I trust, will always be taken in a spirit of ensuring the largest good of the nation and of each community inhabiting it.

5. You have mentioned in your letter the possibility of undertaking a fast.⁵ May I say that I would regret this exceedingly, for such a method to compel political decisions can only lead to harm for the nation and the community. I hope you will appreciate that Government cannot be coerced in this manner, and I earnestly trust that you will give up this idea.

6. India has passed through a period full of peril and danger. Those perils and dangers are by no means over in India or in the world and it is necessary for us to be vigilant and utilise every ounce of strength that we possess in building up a strong and united India which can confidently face every danger from outside or inside. That is the primary duty of each one of us, to whatever community he might belong, for each community lives or progresses only in so far as India lives and progresses and grows strong. Any other course which weakens India necessarily weakens the components that go to make up this great nation. It is with this wider understanding of India and the world and with a vision of the future that we should view our immediate problems also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Tara Singh had referred to the events after the publication of the Nehru Report when the Sikhs as a community went out of the Congress and there was fear of their becoming antagonistic to the national movement; but he, along with a few others, was successful in persuading the leaders of the Central Sikh League to reach a settlement with the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi drafted a resolution which was unanimously carried in the open session of the Congress held at Lahore in 1929 and the Sikhs accepted it.
5. Tara Singh had written that if his two demands were not granted, "I shall start my fast unto death, for I feel that my death may do more good to the Khalsa Panth than my life."

2. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
May 14, 1949

My dear Sachar,

Your letter of the 13th May about certain Sikh claims in regard to communal proportion in the services and the language question. You refer this matter to us for decision. But in doing so, you should at least send your Government's recommendations.

So far as we are concerned, we are very much opposed to any Central encouragement of communal proportions being fixed. If, however, a province wants something done and comes to an agreement, we shall not go against it for the time being at least.

In any event it is for your Government to send us their recommendations.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

3. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
May 25, 1949

My dear Gopalaswami,

Rafi Ahmed Kidwai has told me that a number of Muslim officers employed on the Railways in Kanpur have recently been dismissed. Presumably this has been done on the basis of some police report. These officers were permanent and some of them had put in ten years or more of service. I do not know the facts. But this kind of thing has happened elsewhere too and once in the U.P. previously, at Lucknow, I think. There is a tendency in the U.P. to suspect Muslim officers and push them out. I think police reports should be very carefully examined and some confirmation required before a man's career is ended suddenly in this way. I am very anxious to avoid giving a feeling to Muslims that they have little place in the Indian Union. Yet there is little doubt that there is that impression among them.

1. J.N. Collection.

I hope you will kindly enquire into this matter. Perhaps Rafi could give you more particulars.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Problems of Muslim Families and Government Employees¹

I told you this morning about certain matters which were brought to my notice by a deputation from the Jamiat-ul-Ulema of Delhi. I repeat them here:

(1) This is in regard to permits for people to come from Pakistan to India. The rules are strictly applied and that is right. But I understand that this involves the separation of women from their husbands or children, that is to say, that the husbands are living in Delhi and are established here as citizens of India. It appears that at some earlier stage they sent their wives to Pakistan. Now the wives have come back to join their husbands. They have normally got temporary permits to come here. These permits expire and then they are asked to go back.

I should imagine that in the case of wives and husbands, separated from each other, normal rules might be worked somewhat differently. If the husband is established here, has got a house etc., there should be no difficulty in his wife being allowed to come here to join him and live with him. Most of these women presumably are rather ignorant of rules etc. They take the temporary permits which are easier to get and come over here with their children. I think that this matter might be considered and the rules relaxed in favour of such wives.

I understand that there are at present about fifty such women in Delhi with their children. They came on temporary permits. The husbands have been here and have got houses etc. Their permits have expired and they have in fact technically offended against the law. I suggest that these cases might be examined and, if there is no special reason to the contrary, they should be allowed to stay here permanently. This would apply to their children also.

Could you kindly enquire into this matter? H.M., Transport, might be consulted. Also the Ministry for Rehabilitation.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 27 May 1949. J.N. Collection.

(2) Another matter that was brought to my notice was that of a fairly large scale dismissal of Muslim Government or railway servants, apparently as a result of police reports that they are not loyal or reliable. I understand that this was a consequence of a circular issued from the Home Ministry in connection with the railway strike and communists.

I am told that there is a good deal of consternation among Muslim employees of Government, and more specially among those employed by the Railways. Some people employed in the Secretariat here are also affected. Some time back a similar case affecting a number of railway employees in Lucknow was brought to my notice. Later I wrote to H.M., Transport, about some Muslim railway employees in Kanpur.

Where there is a definite proof about the unreliability or disloyalty of a particular person, some action has, of course, to be taken. But normally that action should not depend upon vague police reports. A man's career and livelihood are involved and greater care should be taken. In particular, where large numbers are concerned, some further enquiry appears to be necessary. Otherwise unfortunate results will follow not only in the case of the individuals concerned but also in regard to an impression spreading that Muslim employees have no security or place in Government service.

I was told by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema people that they saw Sardar Patel about six weeks ago on the subject. Sardar Patel told them that the Home Ministry circular was concerned with communists and the railway strike and that it was not the intention to deal with Muslims as such. He assured them that he would look into this matter and, if necessary, issue further directions to correct any misapprehension that had arisen.

It appears that many hundreds of people are involved in this, more specially in the Railways. Will you please enquire into this matter from the Home Ministry and the Railway Ministry?

5. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
May 31, 1949

My dear Gopalaswami,

Thank you for your note of the 31st May² about Muslims who have been dismissed. I must say that the numbers involved are so considerable that they alarm

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Gopalaswami had written that a number of Muslim officers employed on the Railways in Kanpur had been dismissed on the basis of police reports about their conduct.

me. I can hardly conceive of thousands of persons being dismissed except under some general rule of thumb, which has little application to the individual. I do hope that particular attention will be paid to each case. I am rather distrustful of police reports in such cases.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
June 8, 1949

My dear Sachar,

Thank you for your fortnightly letter of the 31st May. I shall deal with a few of the points you have mentioned.

I have already written to you that in regard to certain Sikh demands, chiefly in connection with language and services, it is not enough for them to be referred to us for determination. The matters are essentially provincial. We, as the Government of India, cannot agree to any element of communalism which might become a precedent for the provinces. But if some internal agreement is arrived at in East Punjab, we may accept it.

As regards creation of any new province or the cutting of any existing province, both the Congress and the Government are definitely of opinion that these matters should be postponed and should not be taken up now. In particular, we just cannot touch East Punjab in this way. It is a frontier province and there is the Kashmir trouble and we cannot upset our administration at this moment without serious consequences. Therefore, it must be clearly understood that we are not going to encourage in any way any change in provincial areas, or in the formation of a special province which might be called the Punjabi-speaking province.

About the adoption of Punjabi in Gurmukhi script as the official language, I understand that at present both Punjabi and Hindi are official languages in the East Punjab. I do not see what more is desired.

In any event even if the matter is referred to us it is for your Government to send their proposals and recommendations.

1. J.N. Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to C.M. Trivedi.

Regarding Master Tara Singh's health,² our Home Ministry has already stated that Master Tara Singh is keeping good health and is being afforded every facility and a large allowance.

Regarding the tenants' agitation in Hissar, Ludhiana, Ferozepore and Hoshiarpur districts, I am not in full possession of facts and therefore can give no opinion. But from your letter itself it appears that the agitation is against the ejection of tenants. Further, you add that Deputy Commissioners are unanimously of opinion that any attempt to protect tenants from ejection by ordinance is undesirable at present. All that is intended is for large-scale ejection to be prevented.

As I have said above, I am not competent to advise. But I have had some experience of this ejection business in the U.P. and we had to take strong measures to stop it completely. I do not myself see how you can take up a rather weak attitude in this matter. The general policy should be against evictions except for very special reasons shown. You must remember that the basic problem of India and of Asia today is the agrarian problem. Our attempt not to displease vested interests in land may lead to disastrous consequences. We have to think in terms of the agriculturist and the tiller of the soil.

About the Grow-More-Food Campaign, we have to think not only in terms of provincial self-sufficiency, but an attempt should be made by individuals and groups to make themselves self-sufficient wherever possible. This was done in England in war time with very satisfactory results. Every man who has a patch of land or a back garden must do something to feed himself.

You refer to your drive against corruption. I am glad for it. What is specially necessary is to hit at corruption in high places regardless of who is involved. We can only control the situation when the big people involved are traced and proceedings taken against them.

Some months ago I wrote to the Governor and your predecessor in office³ about Sardar Tarlok Singh who is serving your Government in regard to rural rehabilitation. I was informed then that he might be free after he has finished his present job. I gather that he is likely to do so within a month. We should like to have him here to help in Grow-More-Food Campaign. We intend putting up a special machinery with this object in view. I hope, therefore, that you will spare Tarlok Singh as soon as he has finished his present work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Tara Singh was taken into custody on 19 February at Narela while on his way to Delhi to preside over the general body meeting of the Shiromani Akali Dal.
3. Gopichand Bhargava.

7. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi

June 14, 1949

My dear Sachar,

Your fortnightly letter of June 13th.

About the Sikh demands to make Punjabi and Gurmukhi official court languages, we shall await your recommendations. But you should remember what our basic language policy is. This is that every child is entitled to primary education in his or her mother-tongue, wherever he may be, provided there are sufficient number of children of that type to make arrangements feasible. That is, if there are enough Tamil children in Amritsar, it is up to the State to open a Tamil primary school for them. This is the principle. In application there may be certain difficulties. Applying this principle, it is clear that children should be taught in Hindi or in Punjabi and Gurmukhi at the primary stage, according to their parents' desire, which is supposed to be in favour of the home tongue. If this is so, then you cannot force down Hindi in a particular area of Punjabi-Gurmukhi knowing people, nor can you force down Punjabi-Gurmukhi on Hindi-knowing children. Both Punjabi and Hindi can be recognised as official languages in the sense that applications, etc., may be made in them. Naturally for the present you cannot rule out English or Urdu, which are in common use.

I have already written to you that ejectment of tenants should not be encouraged at all at any time and more especially at present.

Regarding relief camps, I do not know what scheme you sent to our Ministry of Rehabilitation. But it is clear that we cannot give free relief for long. The State cannot support it and it is not good for those who receive it. We must offer work, whatever it may be, and if that is not taken, then relief must stop. It may be that to begin with work is not economic and some partial relief may be given. But no one, who is not prepared to work, should be given relief, unless he is disabled or too old or too young. The period you mention for relief appears to me to be much too long.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

6

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION
V. Housing

1. Hotels in Delhi¹

The position in regard to accommodation in Delhi is becoming increasingly desperate. External Affairs Ministry has to deal with new arrivals in the diplomatic corps and they cannot get suitable accommodation for them. Some of these have lived for many months in hotels. The matter is urgent. Even the existing hotels are not very convenient or suitable for foreign residents.

2. I understand that arrangements are being expedited for the building of a new hotel. The sooner this is done the better.

3. Other building constructions in Delhi are apparently held up because of the very high value of the land and the premia and ground rent charged for it. This matter has been referred to W.M.P. and I hope they would produce us a note and a summary soon for consideration by Cabinet.

4. But all this does not help us at all in our immediate difficulty of providing accommodation for Ambassadors and their staff. We have ultimately to rely on existing accommodation. It seems to me that the only way to tackle this question is to remove some Government offices from Delhi, thus releasing accommodation here. There should be a number of offices which could be so removed without detriment to public work. In doing so we cannot afford to spend big sums of money on constructions elsewhere. It may be possible however to find buildings elsewhere which can be added to somewhat.

5. As a matter of fact there are plenty of houses lying empty in Mussoorie and in Dalhousie. They can be taken possession of immediately. In some ways these locations are very desirable.

6. I shall be grateful if W.M.P. considers this matter and puts up a note for Cabinet to consider. Before finalising this note, they may consult other ministries concerned.

1. Note to the Ministry of Works, Mines and Power, 2 June 1949. File No. 7(39)-Pt/49, M.E.A., N.A.I.

2. Accommodation for a Tuberculosis Hospital¹

I have read the noting of this file. I can understand the viewpoint of the Defence Secretary.² Nevertheless I think that this matter should be considered from a

1. Note to the Defence Minister, 3 June 1949. File No. 40 (72)/49-PMS.
2. H.M. Patel.

broader point of view. No ministry or department in the Government of India is treated, on the whole, with as much consideration in the matter of finance as the Defence Ministry. That is right, because we want our defence services to be kept in good condition. But the defence should not be looked upon as something isolated from other national or nation-building activities. It is bad economy to prevent the use for a desirable object of something that you have, because we may require it in the future. Some kind of a balance has to be struck. The defence services are interested as anyone else in the health of the nation.

I would not myself hesitate to make a free gift of this building, etc., to the Tuberculosis Hospital. But perhaps a better course would be for the Defence Ministry to lease this out on some nominal rental to the Tuberculosis Hospital. In this way the ownership might be maintained for the present. Of course it should be realised that it will not be an easy matter to take back the building and thus upset the whole hospital. A gesture like this would do credit to the Defence Ministry and at the same time help a very desirable object, without in effect, in any way, interfering with the Defence Ministry's work or programme.

It is rather odd to say that no such request should be made in the future. Surely every such matter has to be judged on the merits in each case. It would be improper to deprive the Defence Ministry of anything that it needs or requires. If it has no need for something and there is need for that for some other important work, the matter has to be considered on the merits. In the same way, if Defence needs something which others do not require or are not using, Defence should get it. We must get the fullest value for our money in national work and activity and not lock it up doing nothing.

I suggest, therefore, that this particular property be handed to the Tuberculosis Hospital, in some way so as to retain the ownership of the Defence Ministry for the present.

3. The Forest Research Institute¹

I have gone through these papers and, as a result, I am left in a state of wonder. Here are very simple schemes for which the estimate was received in July 1947. They go from ministry to ministry and from pillar to post and after two years we

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 18 June 1949. File No. 31(57)/49-PMS.

are informed that the estimates are wrong because prices have risen meanwhile. Everybody of course does his work as he should. But as a result nothing happens. Apparently now the sanction of the Ministry of Agriculture is lacking. I shall be very grateful to know from the Ministry of Agriculture why there has been delay in this matter.

I was given to understand that the materials are actually there in Dehra Dun. Further, the engineers are there and labour is there. If this is correct, there is no question of top priority or any other priority for materials. All that is necessary is some kind of a paper sanction somewhere. I suggest that no attempt be made for any priority for sending further materials but that immediate sanction be given to the Institute² for building what they consider necessary immediately with the materials in hand and with the help of their own engineers.

These papers seem to me to be a striking example of waste of time, energy and money—waste of money because delay sends prices of everything up. This is also a striking example of how things must not be done.

I shall be interested to know how many months or years it takes to get the scheme going. So far as I can see, the utmost time it should take now is twenty four hours, because, I repeat, nothing is to be sent or obtained and only a paper sanction and a telegram is necessary.

Please send this note of mine to the ministries concerned, the Ministry of Agriculture, Works, Mines and Power and Finance. As no further materials need be indented at present, no reference is necessary to the Ministry of Industry and Supply, or the Ministry of Transport or the Ministry of Railways.

2. The Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun.

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MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION
VI. Prisons in Delhi

1. The Condition of Delhi Jail¹

In the past there have been complaints about the condition of the Delhi jail and the treatment of prisoners there. Most provincial governments have introduced jail reforms during the past few years. But I understand that few changes have taken place in Delhi in this matter.

In view of a considerable number of political prisoners of various types being sent to the Delhi jail, this matter acquires importance. Apart from the humanitarian aspect, which is of course important, the fact of anything happening in Delhi, the capital, gets considerable publicity.

During the last two or three days a number of members of the Socialist Party have been sent to prison. Many of these persons are our old comrades and I should not like any complaint to be made about their treatment in prison or the conditions under which they have to remain there, more especially in this hot weather. This will lead to public criticism and ill-feeling, which should be avoided. Odd complaints reach me. They may or may not be true. But there is no doubt that they affect public opinion. I should like you therefore to draw the attention of the Home Secretary² and the Chief Commissioner³ to this matter.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 5 June 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. H.V.R. Iengar.
3. Shankar Prasada.

2. Prisoners and Jails in Delhi¹

I notice that there is an editorial in the *Evening News* of June 8th, headed "Mangoes for Dr Lohia". There is also a small note headed "Not the PM's Mangoes."

In view of certain insinuations in the article and a certain expression of opinion in it, I should like you to inform the Chief Commissioner of what the facts are

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 8 June 1949. J.N. Collection.

and how I feel about this matter. Some days ago I asked you about conditions in Delhi jails, because I have heard frequently complaints about them. In most provinces of India, there have been jail reforms. But, so far as I know, no such reforms have been introduced in the Delhi jail and conditions there are still very backward. In the present state of the weather in Delhi, this must be peculiarly distressing.

I think that from the human point of view, we should treat political prisoners, and more especially those of note, with certain consideration in prison and give them the normal facilities which we have always demanded when we went to prison. This applies particularly to people who have been our colleagues and comrades in the past and who may again occupy that position.

This has little to do with the working of the law, which should take its course. Nor is it any criticism of any action taken by the local authorities in regard to arrest, detention, trial, etc., of Dr Lohia and his supporters.

My Secretary, Shri Mathai, asked me two days ago if he could visit Dr Lohia and others in prison. I told him that he could certainly do so, if he wanted to. He took some mangoes with him. I did not know this, but I certainly approve of his having done so. My daughter, Indira Gandhi, asked me a little later if she could send an electric table fan to the prison. I told her that if this was permitted, she could certainly do so. She enquired into this matter, and I understand she was told that it was permitted, but as there was no plug, where these prisoners were, the fan could not be of much use. If the fan could be used, she could send it and she probably will send it then.

I want the Delhi authorities to appreciate the difference between the enforcement of law and treatment of prisoners. I am all in favour of good treatment which does not harass and embitter people and which should be kept completely apart from the enforcement of the law.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION
VII. General

1. Official and Personal Correspondence¹

An incident that happened a day or two ago gave me a bit of a shock. A letter addressed to me in two covers, the inner one marked "For himself", was opened by an orderly to whom apparently my dak was handed by a clerk for opening. The orderly was, of course, an illiterate and could not see any inscription on the envelope.

2. The opening of a letter specially meant for me does not matter very much. But I was surprised at the way things are done in our offices here. We have to deal with highly secret correspondence and papers. Normally some difference is of course made between secret correspondence and the rest. But the procedure is so vague and the people in charge of it are so much lacking in vigilance and initiative that it is quite possible that important papers may go astray or go into wrong hands. There has often been talk of leakage from our offices. The mere fact that an orderly or a *chaprasi* should be allowed to open any letter seems to me amazing.

3. I am coming to believe more and more that our efficiency and our work suffers from having too many people to deal with it. In London I was told that the Prime Minister's Secretariat there consisted of relatively few but highly qualified persons who deal with all secret papers themselves, allowing no one else to see them. Here we have hordes of people and armies of *chaprasis* wandering about and doing odd jobs. I think that we must revise this entire system and concentrate work in competent hands. It should be made perfectly clear that no orderly or *chaprasi* has anything to do with the opening of letters whether such letters are important or unimportant. Only a chosen and qualified and trustworthy person should deal with the day's correspondence in any particular office and he must be made fully responsible for it. He should receive it and separate the secret or the personal letters which should be opened only by the persons authorised to do so. The other letters should be opened by him and then distributed to the people concerned.

4. This is just one relatively minor matter. But the main thing is that we must tighten up our methods of work and make them more efficient. This can only be done if complete responsibility for each item of work rests on a particular individual. If it is shared, that means that no one is really responsible.

5. I trust that all our ministers and heads of departments will give thought to this matter and issue instructions accordingly. This is intimately connected with the question of leakage. If responsibility rests squarely on each individual for his part of the work, then he can be called to account if there is the slightest leakage.

1. Note to all ministers and heads of departments, 18 May 1949. File No. 2(223)/48-PMS.

2. To K.M. Cariappa¹

New Delhi
May 24, 1949

My dear Cariappa,

About three weeks ago, you made a statement to the press in the course of which you congratulated me for my work at the Commonwealth Conference in London.² You further drew attention to the all-round progress made by the present leadership in the country.

I am grateful to you for what you said. But this raises an important point, and indeed the press has drawn attention to this. Should our officers, civil or military, even including the head of the Army, express any opinion in regard to political subjects in public? Should they speak in praise of the work of Government? Indeed should they deliver public speeches at all except on matters strictly confined to their own work or some social or cultural subjects? What you said was harmless enough, but there is always a danger in touching upon political questions. Obviously it would be highly improper for an officer to criticise Government, more especially on a political issue. If this is so, then praise of Government should also be avoided.

I am drawing your attention to this matter as you set the tone for the Army and I do not want the Army to get mixed up in any way with politics. You yourself have made this clear on many occasions. In the past I did not like the activities of some Sikh officers who indulged in communal politics. The safest course, therefore, is for all officers to avoid public speaking or public statements completely except on strictly limited topics. Sometimes an officer may not even know the exact political significance of some issue or some remarks he might inadvertently make. It so happens that the present Government has the largest political party and organisation at its back. Nevertheless there are other parties and groups and they might object to the Army doing or saying something in praise or in criticism of political parties or ideologies. You know that Montgomery is apt to let himself go in public. He has been repeatedly asked by the British Government not to do so. Recently I was in Switzerland³ and some members of the Swiss Federal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In an interview at Dehra Dun on May 2, Cariappa remarked, "the achievement made by the country under Pandit Nehru's leadership in so short a period has no parallel in history", and added that "the last Commonwealth Conference in London, when seen in clear perspective, will be found to have been a great triumph for the Prime Minister." He also said that the all-round progress made by the existing leadership had not been appreciated by the people clearly.

3. Nehru was in Switzerland from 3 to 5 May 1949.

Government told me how they had been greatly embarrassed at a rather casual remark of Montgomery in Switzerland.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Use of Titles¹

In a note to H.M., Home, it is said that he had a talk with the Premier of West Bengal and that he had agreed to the use of certain titles.² No mention of this is made in this letter. If there has been any such talk, it will help us to know what was the result of those talks.

2. Before the matter is put up before the Cabinet, it might be desirable to have specific and precise proposals. In India titles of some kind or other are very common. Presumably, the proposal would refer only to titles conferred by the British Government. Many others, who have no such British titles, enjoy by consent the use of courtesy titles like Raja and Nawab. Nawab, in fact, is both a title and almost the equivalent of "Mr" as Begum is for "Mrs" among Muslims. There are some families who enjoy titles like "Rai" which were conferred by the Mughal Empire and thus have become almost parts of their names.

3. If the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan or Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad are to continue using their titles, there is no reason why the Maharaja of Parlakimidi or Raja of Mahmudabad should not also do so. It will serve little purpose to put up the matter for the Cabinet without some specific proposal. Perhaps it will be better to limit this proposal to begin with. The Home Ministry is requested to put up this proposal.

1. Note to the Ministry of Home Affairs, 30 May 1949. File No. 2(287)/49-PMS.
2. The Home Secretary referred in his note to an informal meeting between the Home Minister and the Premier of West Bengal when it was agreed that hereditary titles of persons like the Maharaja of Burdwan or the Nawab of Murshidabad should continue to be used in official documents, unofficially revising the order of 31 December 1948 which laid down that reference to titles could be made only in respect of the ruling Princes.

4. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
June 2, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose two confidential reports which I have received. One relates to the "Vir Savarkar and Mahasabha Day" and the other to the "Vidyardhi Parishad". These reports may not be wholly accurate or may be exaggerated, but they do put us to some enquiry as to what is happening, and evidently many undesirable things are happening. I am sending these two for your information. Probably you must have fuller information of this yourself.

I have asked Pai to ask Iengar and the Chief Commissioner as to what they know about this Savarkar Day proceedings.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

5. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
6 June 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th June about Governors' flags.²

It is true that I had indicated my preference for the Governor using the State flag outside his own province. The matter was referred to the Home Minister, who was also of this opinion, and thereupon the Home Ministry issued instructions accordingly. I think this was done some days ago.

The use of the State flag is not limited to the members of the government. It is used by representatives of government in various places such as district officers

1. File No. 62-GG/49, President's Secretariat.

2. Rajagopalachari suggested that the Governor, when travelling outside his province, display his own flag which would also indicate the name of the province of which he was the head.

in their districts and some others. I see no harm in the Governor using it outside his province. It gives a certain distinction to the car. There is no question of the flag being used in his province.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

6. To Y.S. Parmar¹

New Delhi
13 June 1949

Dear Friend,²

I have your letter of the 12th June. I do not understand how anyone can praise or condemn a whole class or group. Every such class or group has good men and bad, efficient men and inefficient. If you bring any particular case of badness or inefficiency, one can enquire and take steps. Of course, vigilance is always necessary.

No country can be run without trained civil and military services. Either of them, if it is disloyal, is dangerous. Normally most people in the services are neither loyal nor disloyal, but are typical civil servants or soldiers. That is, they carry out orders given to them. The argument you put forward would apply equally to our army. Are we to disband our army because of that and start afresh? That would mean a period of weakness and helplessness. Similarly if the civil service is disbanded completely, that would also mean a period of stoppage of a large number of activities.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Yeshwant Singh Parmar (1906-1981); served in several judicial capacities in Sirmur State, 1930-41; resigned because of political differences and exiled from Sirmur State, 1941; organised satyagraha in Suket State which resulted in the formation of Himachal Pradesh; Member, Constituent Assembly, 1949; Chief Minister, Himachal Pradesh, 1952-56, and 1963-77; Member of Parliament, 1956-63.

7. To Kishorelal Mashruwala¹

New Delhi
June 14, 1949

My dear Kishorelalji,²

I have seen the article that J.C. Kumarappa³ has sent you, entitled "Portents of a Revolution."

I have read this with great regret. It is not for me to suggest what Shri Kumarappa should write or what you should publish. But what he has written in regard to Government House here seems to me to be singularly unfair and misleading. I shall not discuss this matter at any length, as I believe my Secretary has once written to you on this subject. But I would like to point out to you and to Shri Kumarappa that Government House or similar houses are not private houses for people to live in, but are used for a variety of public purposes. If we had to build now, we would not build such a structure. But the building is there and it has to be used. As it is constructed, it cannot be suitably used for any purpose like that of a hospital or a college. It is not built that way and the upkeep would be very great for such an institution. In fact it is peculiarly unsuited for such uses. It cannot be left vacant and allowed to deteriorate. Therefore it is used for a number of public purposes. There are many rooms used as offices. There are the Cabinet rooms. There is a museum and an art gallery. There are big rooms which can only be used for entertainment purposes and there are rooms for distinguished guests. The Governor General occupies a very small part of the building.

So far as the garden is concerned, it is not a private garden, but a public garden or a park, which has to be maintained for that purpose, if we value such gardens.

We considered more than once the possibility of the Governor General living elsewhere. The Governor General himself would have liked this, but we found that this would add to our expenditure, as the huge structure of Government House would have to be looked after anyhow to whatever use it was put, or even if it was kept empty. It is not clear to me what Shri Kumarappa would like us to do in these circumstances.

He objects to garden parties and the like and thinks that the ministers are vying with each other. I was not aware of any rivalry in this business. But we happen to be one of the principal diplomatic centres of the world and there are certain conventions which are normally recognised in independent countries. One of these is to meet diplomats and others individually and in groups. There is not much point in our having diplomatic relations, if we do not have the chance of meeting them. I might mention that there is a general complaint among the diplomats and foreigners

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Mashruwala was editor of *Harijan* at this time.

3. Kumarappa was a Gandhian economist.

that Government House is run economically now and without the lavish expenditure of the past. As a matter of fact, it is true that things are done now in a much simpler way. We have to meet in parties Members of the Constituent Assembly, citizens of Delhi and others, because it is impossible to meet hundreds of people separately.

So far as the number of servants are concerned, it is perfectly true that this is very large. Many of these are Muslims. We gave an undertaking that we would not dismiss any of them and they could stay on if they liked and not go to Pakistan. Except for a few, they stayed on. We have tried to give them other kinds of work too. Gradually they are retiring and we are not replacing them.

As for Shri Kumarappa's criticism of me, perhaps it is right. I can hardly be a judge about myself.

The suggestion that Government House might accommodate a number of middle-class families does not seem to me to be peculiarly suitable. Middle-class families would hardly enjoy living in large State rooms, which were meant for a completely different purpose.

Hotels are referred to. There is a very great lack of hotels in Delhi, which adds to our difficulties.

I have just mentioned some facts and my own reactions to them. As I have said above, it is for you to judge what to do with Shri Kumarappa's letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Dress on Formal Occasions¹

The Prime Minister would like to draw the attention of Hon'ble Ministers to the fact that there is a growing laxity in forms of dress on the part of officials at formal occasions. At afternoon or evening parties or dinners at Government House, some officials have appeared in bush shirts and the like. Often the clothing worn has not even the merit of cleanliness and has suffered greatly from the weather. No official dress has been definitely prescribed for officials on such occasions, although some indications and advice have been given on behalf of the Home Ministry. It is not desired to introduce any measure of compulsion in this matter, but a certain

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 17 June 1949. File No. 2(154)/48-PMS.

uniformity is desirable. Above all, it is obviously necessary that whatever the clothes worn should be appropriate and fitting to the occasion.

All the diplomats and foreign representatives attend such functions in their proper attire. Most of our officials also carry out the general directions given. But sometimes this is not so, and they come in a dress which can only be described as shabby or extremely informal. Caustic comments have been made by foreign diplomats not only in India but abroad in regard to this matter.

I shall be grateful to Hon'ble Ministers if they will kindly issue instructions for their respective Ministries that a certain decorum has to be observed in dress, as in other things, where the dignity of the State is concerned.

The above note should be sent to all the Hon'ble Ministers and to Heads of Departments. Perhaps it had better be issued by the Home Ministry.

9. The State Motto¹

Please send the Governor General's letter attached to the Home Ministry. I think you have already sent them Dr Chakravarti's letter on this subject.² If not, this should be sent.

I think the Home Ministry should issue a press communique on India's motto. In this they should state that the Government of India have decided on the motto being *Satyam Eva Jayate*.³ Objection has been raised as to the correctness of the last word, *Jayate*, and it has been pointed out that the correct grammatical form is *Jayati*. This is true in so far as grammar and classical Sanskrit are concerned. But the motto has been taken from a famous verse in the *Mundakopanishad*.⁴ It is recognised practice for the original *arshaprayog*⁵ to be used, when quoting from the *Upanishads*.⁶ The question then is what is the correct version in the

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 17 June 1949. File No. 2(413)/49-PMS.
2. N.P. Chakravarti, Director General of Archaeology, stated that while no reliable edition of the *Upanishads* used the form *Jayati*, the commentaries of Sri Sankaracharya did.
3. Truth alone triumphs.
4. An *Upanishad* of the *Atharva Veda*. The motto has been taken from *sloka* number five.
5. Vedic usage.
6. A collection of Hindu texts, one hundred and eight in number and composed between 700 and 300 B.C.

Upanishad. After reference to eminent scholars in Sanskrit, Government have been advised that *Jayate* is the original *arshaprayog* and is therefore the correct version.

Some recent editions of the *Upanishad* contain the word *Jayati*. But all the older editions and the reliable manuscripts of the *Mundakopanishad* have given the form as *Jayate*. There is other collateral evidence also to show that *Jayate* is the correct *Upanishad* form. Hence the correct motto chosen for India is: *Satyam Eva Jayate*.

It should be remembered that this motto should not be used privately and can only appear below the crest, where the crest itself is permitted to be used.

The above is a general indication of the kind of press note that might be issued. It may be varied.

10. To Sri Prakasa¹

New Delhi
June 18, 1949

My dear Prakasa,

Because of what you wrote in your fortnightly letter of the 2nd June, the Governor General referred the case of Reverend and Mrs Supplee² to me. I have had the papers examined and I am clear that they ought to have been removed from Assam, in spite of their popularity among the Nagas.³ Nothing more, therefore, need be done about this matter.

It is unfortunate that our people cannot work in the efficient way that missionaries work. Perhaps we shall learn to do so later. I suppose about the only people who do this work well are the Ramakrishna Mission people.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. George Washington Supplee (1894-1979) and Ruth Lamberton Supplee (1894-1972); joined American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and did educational and evangelical work at Impur, Assam, 1921, and at the Kohima Mission School from 1922; deported from India in July 1949.
3. Sri Prakasa had written that the case of the Supplees' expulsion might be reconsidered in view of the general discontent among the Nagas.

LETTERS TO THE PREMIERS OF PROVINCES

LETTERS TO THE PREMIERS OF PROVINCES

1

New Delhi
May 14, 1949

My dear Premier,

I missed writing the beginning of the month fortnightly letter for the obvious reason that I was in London then.² About the London meeting of Prime Ministers, I shall not write anything in this letter, as I have dealt with the subject fully on other occasions. In another two days' time I shall be addressing the Constituent Assembly on this subject³ and somewhat later, the All India Congress Committee.⁴ Therefore I shall spare you a long account here. But I am enclosing a note⁵ I have written on this subject for some of my colleagues here.

2. I visited Dublin and Switzerland also during my brief stay abroad. I was very glad to go to Dublin and I met with warm-hearted cordiality there from the President,⁶ the Prime Minister⁷ and other Ministers as well as Mr De Valera⁸ and other leaders of the Opposition. I was asked to sit with the members of the Dail after a resolution passed by the Dail. This was a signal and unique honour. I have always felt, in common with so many of my countrymen, very friendly towards the Irish, who have had so many experiences, similar to ours, in struggle for freedom. I had occasion to have frank and full talks with Mr Costello, the Prime Minister of Ireland. As you perhaps know, we have accredited a minister to Ireland, our High Commissioner in London being the minister. At the request of the Irish Government, we are raising the status of our Legation in Dublin to that of an Embassy. This will make no other difference, as our High Commissioner in London will become our Ambassador in Dublin also.

3. Both in Dublin and in various places of Switzerland what pleased me greatly was not merely the governmental welcome but the popular welcome that I was privileged to receive. Crowds of common folk gathered in the streets wherever I went and gave a cheer. For the Swiss, who are not easily excitable, this was uncommon behaviour.

1. These letters have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru—Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 1, (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 340-386.
2. Nehru returned on 7 May 1949.
3. For Nehru's speeches of 16 and 17 May 1949 in the Constituent Assembly, see *post*, Section 8, items 6 and 7.
4. For Nehru's speech at the A.I.C.C. meeting on 21 May, see *post*, Section 8, item 8.
5. See *post*, Section 8, item 2.
6. Sean Thomas O'Kelly (1883-1966); one of the founders of Sinn Fein; Speaker of the first Dail Eireann, 1919-21; Ambassador to the U.S.A., 1924-26; served in several ministerial positions under Eamon De Valera, 1932-45; President of Republic of Ireland, 1945-59.
7. John Aloysius Costello.
8. Eamon De Valera was the leader of the Opposition in Dail Eireann, 1948-51.

4. I visited and inspected our Legation in Berne and both from my inspection and general reports, I found that it was working satisfactorily. Our Minister, Shri Dhirajlal Desai, is exceedingly popular in Switzerland and has undoubtedly served India well. His chief colleague, the Counsellor, Shri A.C.N. Nambiar, had also been doing his work with efficiency and success. Indeed I was glad to find a happy team of workers cooperating with each other. Switzerland, though a small country, is an important centre because of its central situation in Europe. It is also of course a great tourist centre and many Indian visitors go there. The Legation has thus to deal with a great variety of work. Sometimes in foreign countries Indian visitors are apt to demand far too much attention from our legations and embassies. They do get attention and help and I am sure Indian travellers abroad are much better placed because of this than they were previously. Apart from physical comforts and conveniences, there is a certain thrill now for an Indian to go to his embassy or legation and to see the Flag of India bravely flying there or to hear our national anthem played. This anthem, which, as you know, for the present is *Jana Gana Mana*, has already found a definite place in foreign countries and has elicited universal admiration. It is generally believed that its tune is one of the finest of national anthems of all the countries.

5. I should like to tell you also how our air service—Air India International—has helped to increase the prestige of India abroad. This service is now acknowledged to be the best in every way of all the international services which fly between Europe and India. Indians abroad have told me that to see this huge aircraft with the Indian Flag coming down in a foreign airport always gives a thrill of pride and pleasure.

6. You may have noticed the statement in the press to the effect that I have been invited by President Truman to visit the United States in October next. I have accepted this invitation, subject to any unforeseen developments. I expect to be in the U.S.A. for about three weeks, if I can afford that much time. Even that period of time is not very much for that huge country, which I shall be visiting for the first time in my life.

7. Among the foreign events of note during the past few weeks have been the developing situation in China, the lifting of the Berlin blockade⁹ and the agreement in Indonesia between the Republic and the Dutch.¹⁰

9. On 12 May 1949, the Soviets lifted after eleven months the rail and highway blockade of West Berlin following an agreement between the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.A., U.K., U.S.S.R. and France signed at New York on 4 May.
10. After negotiations with the Republicans from 15 April to 7 May 1949, the Dutch agreed to cease hostilities, release all prisoners, allow the Republicans to return to Jogjakarta, and let them retain the areas held by them. The Republicans on their part agreed to stop guerilla activities and participate in a round table conference to be convened at The Hague.

8. I need say little about China except that we have decided, in common with other governments, to retain our Ambassador in Nanking for the present and to watch developments. It is not correct to say, as some papers announced, that we were on the point of recognising the new Government in Nanking. The situation is so fluid in China that no government can be recognised till it settles down and till it indicates how it will act towards us. We have appointed a Counsellor in Nanking who will deal with the new Government in his consular capacity. It may be necessary for our Ambassador, Shri K.M. Panikkar, at a later stage to report to us personally about events in China in order to help us to frame our future policy. For the present he will remain there and watch.

9. What is happening in China is of course of major importance not only to Asia but to the whole world and every step that we might take in regard to it has to be most carefully considered. Our desire has always been and is to retain the friendship of the Chinese people and to cooperate with them as far as possible. That will be our guiding principle.

10. The lifting of the Berlin blockade does not solve the problems of Europe. But undoubtedly it is an event to be welcomed and it eases the tension in Europe. It may perhaps be a forerunner of a progressive improvement in international relations, and in particular, in the rivalry between the great power groups. One should not build hopes too high, for the causes of conflict are deep and fear and suspicion on either side will not easily disappear. But something encouraging to the lovers of peace has happened and we should welcome it.

11. Regarding Indonesia, the agreement that has recently been signed is not anything to enthuse over, chiefly because much has been left vague in it and it is always dangerous in such matters to be vague. Nevertheless, I think we should welcome it, for it is always a good thing to get out of a deadlock. I think it is widely recognised all over the world, and even by the Dutch, that Indonesia must be free and further that it is the Indonesian Republic that must have a leading position there.

12. May I add that for a long time past we have played a fairly important part in Indonesian developments. Little of this is mentioned in the press and we do not want it so mentioned. But we have all along been in the closest touch with the Republican leaders and I think we may justly claim to have helped them considerably in many ways, and more especially in the international field. We have been, in more senses than one, the window of Indonesia to the world. That window was very helpful especially after the Dutch blockade. Our relations have grown progressively closer during these very difficult days in Indonesia and we shall continue this close relationship. Some people, ignorant of what is happening and given to day-dreams, criticise us for our Indonesian policy. As a matter of fact, we have done nothing without the consultation of the Republican leaders. Indeed

the Foreign Minister¹¹ of the Emergency Government of the Indonesian Republic has been functioning from New Delhi.

13. Burma continues to be a scene of civil conflict. While I was in London, a conference was held at the instance of the U.K. Prime Minister to consider the situation in Burma.¹² While we were not anxious or even desirous of being entangled in the Burmese conflict, we were anxious to help in bringing about peace and order there. To India this was of special importance both because Burma is a border country and because of the 800,000 Indians resident in Burma. Any great upheaval there might result in the Indians having to leave Burma. One can well imagine what a terrific problem this would represent to us and how much human misery this would mean. We have been long convinced that Thakin Nu's Government, and indeed Thakin Nu himself personally more than anyone else, is the only possible government which can bring about peace and some measure of stability in Burma in the relatively near future. Others are small groups with no clear policies or principles except the policy of opposition and rebellion. If, unfortunately, Thakin Nu's government collapses, the result will not be some other stable government but simply chaos and anarchy. So, by stress of circumstances, we are compelled to be interested in the success of Thakin Nu's government. At the same time we wish to avoid anything in the nature of a military entanglement.

14. The conference held in London by some Commonwealth Prime Ministers decided that some help should be given to the Burmese Government without entanglement as far as possible. We have asked our respective ambassadors in Rangoon to form a Committee, keeping in touch with the Burmese Government and informing us of the situation and of what supplies are necessary. The burden will inevitably fall largely on the U.K. It is interesting to note that in spite of all these troubles in Burma, rice procurement has been more or less successful thus far.

15. As I write this letter, the Indian question in South Africa is before the U.N. General Assembly. What the final result will be, I do not know. But it seems clear that a considerable majority are inclined to favour the Indian viewpoint with certain modifications. As you know, I met Dr Malan¹³ in London. I know well that meeting him will not solve this highly intricate problem. All we could do was to explain to each other our respective viewpoints clearly. In other words, agree to differ for the time being. I felt that a frank and friendly talk would at least remove some obstructions and bitterness from the approach to this problem. That was about

11. Armin Sartono Maramis.

12. It was announced on 11 May that the Prime Ministers of U.K., India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka had agreed on 28 April to extend support for the restoration of law and order in Burma. On 12 May, the Government of Burma explained that while it had no intention of joining the Commonwealth, it had accepted aid from the four countries.

13. Daniel Francois Malan (1874-1959); Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, Union of South Africa, 1948-54.

all that happened and otherwise we are where we were. Dr Malan was quite friendly but quite obdurate. We agreed that if either of us surrendered to the other, we would have short shrift in our own country.

16. In spite of this absolute deadlock, I think there is a deep realisation in the minds of many people that something has got to be done and some way found before this problem assumes gigantic proportions, as it well might. Indeed the recent terrible riots in Durban have made confusion worse confounded and made the position of Indians peculiarly difficult. Reports continue to reach us of tension as between Africans and Indians. I am afraid that the fault is not wholly on the African side always. Some of our Indian settlers there have shown extreme narrow-mindedness in dealing with the situation and this continues to irritate the Africans. Our own policy all along has been for Indians to cooperate fully with the Africans and not to come in the way of their progress. Indeed there is no other possible policy, for if we have not got the goodwill of the Africans in Africa, there will be no place left for Indians there.

17. The recent failure of an Indian bank in East Africa has produced further complications. This may possibly lead to further tension between the Africans and Indians because a number of Africans may lose their deposits.

18. Our Deputy Foreign Minister, Dr B.V. Keskar, has paid visits not only to our North East Frontier but also to several of our missions abroad in South East Asia. He has been to Saigon, Bangkok, Singapore and Rangoon and has presented us not only with full reports of the situation in these countries but also of the working of our missions. He has paid a compliment to our representatives abroad and to the work our missions are doing. In view of the many criticisms made about our foreign work, it has been heartening to have these reports from Dr Keskar. Speaking with some knowledge of the subject of our foreign missions, I can say that generally they have done remarkably well, considering that we are beginners at this game and normally foreign missions take a long time to develop. There is of course a great deal of room for improvement and there is some overlapping and some errors due to inexperience. But on the whole we have done very well and our missions abroad have a high reputation.

19. The Kashmir issue has given us a good many headaches during the past few weeks. The U.N. Commission has presented to us some new proposals. Anxious as we are to come to an agreement and to proceed peacefully to a settlement, there are certain limits beyond which we cannot go without endangering our position, both politically and militarily. Subject to these vital modifications, we are prepared to go as far as possible. There has been a great deal of loose talk about Kashmir in some newspapers. Some people have written or talked about our poor chances in a plebiscite. Some have even suggested that we should try to save Jammu, even though the rest goes.¹⁴ Some have criticised the Abdullah Government and laid

14. The Jammu Praja Parishad was agitating at this time for a zonal plebiscite in Jammu.

stress on internal conflicts. I am astonished that this kind of irresponsible talk or writing should go on. Of course we have difficult problems in Kashmir, but we are confident that we shall pull through. This business of creating trouble and dissension and running our own people down is not becoming of any person who has a little intelligence or patriotism.

20. Immediately on my return here I attended a conference of Governors, which His Excellency the Governor General had called. This conference was very useful and the experienced members who attended helped us to understand in many ways the situation in the country. As was natural, the question of the relationship between the Governors and their ministries was considered. There was no question of course of the Governor interfering with the work of the ministry. He had to function as a constitutional Governor. At the same time it was pointed out that it would be undesirable and wasteful of talent if we did not utilise the Governor's experience. In the new Constitution that we are drawing up, paragraph 8 of the 4th Schedule of the Draft Constitution is as follows:

The Governor shall do all that in him lies to maintain standards of good administration, to promote all measures making for moral, social and economic welfare and tending to fit all classes of the population to take their due share in the public life and government of the State, and to secure amongst all classes and creeds cooperation, goodwill and mutual respect for religious beliefs and sentiments.¹⁵

That is of course only in the Draft Constitution thus far. It indicates, however, the mind of the Drafting Committee. Whether this paragraph is passed as it is or varied, it does seem the general intention to treat the Governors as live persons who can help, though without interfering. It should be desirable, therefore, for provincial premiers and ministers to keep Governors informed of all important matters relating to policy and administration and to consult them before any decision in respect of such matters is taken. This does not mean interference by the Governors and the views of the ministry will no doubt prevail. All that it means is that we should take full advantage of the experienced and eminent man or woman who is the Governor before coming to final decisions in respect of major matters of policy and administration.

21. I think that there is one other way in which the Governors can be helpful and that is by touring. I do not mean the type of touring in which previous Governors indulged with great pomp and circumstance. A certain dignity of course has to be maintained in keeping with the high office, otherwise we are likely to become sloppy. Governor's tours can be of great help to a ministry from many points of

15. This paragraph was not included in the Constitution.

view. A Governor naturally must support his government. Nevertheless, he can support it as a person above parties and groups.

22. The law and order problem was of course discussed at length at the Governors' conference. It was clear that it was the primary duty of governments to maintain law and order and to meet any challenge made to it. As the Communist Party of India had made that challenge it had to be effectively met. Two points were however stressed. One was that we should try to keep apart the violence and sabotage part of the Communist Party's programme in India from their normal ideological approach. That is to say our action against the Communist Party members is because they indulge in violence and sabotage and openly say so in their circulars etc., and not because they hold certain opinions. It is important that this difference be made, as otherwise some people might be misled into thinking that we are attacking a way of thinking and not violent activities against the State.

23. The second point that was mentioned was that while police and like measures are essential to meet with any challenge to the State, it is even more necessary to have a positive policy to remove grievances and to keep in touch with the people. Unfortunately most of us have got so entangled in administrative or other duties that we tend to lose touch with the masses. This leaves them an easy prey for any kind of agitation. Therefore it is essential to develop full contacts with the masses, to explain to them our difficulties and seek their cooperation; also to have a definite and positive policy for their betterment.

24. It was further pointed out at the Governors' conference that there was a tendency among provincial governments to rely increasingly on the repressive aspect of the State in meeting difficult situations. While this was inevitable in certain circumstances, it was not normally the best or the safest way of dealing with any matter. It is seldom that any idea or any really earnest person is crushed by repression as every Congressman knows by his own experience. We have thrived in repression. This has always to be kept in mind or else we shall get more and more entangled in a vicious circle. There have recently been firings as a result of which women have died. Those women were actually behaving in a most violent manner and causing casualties on the side of the police. It becomes inevitable for the police to fire when they are themselves attacked. Nevertheless, this business of women being shot at and killed leaves a very bad taste in the minds of people and credit of governments does not go up in the eyes of people in India or abroad. We have, therefore, to strike a balance and to keep vigilant that the police or others do not forget the importance of dealing with situations as far as possible without adopting these extreme measures.

25. You have all seen the report of the three-man committee on linguistic provinces appointed by the Jaipur Congress. This report has been considered by our Cabinet here and generally approved. In particular, the Cabinet was of opinion that this whole question of the formation of new provinces or of rectification of provincial boundaries should be postponed and dealt with some time after the new Constitution comes into force. This of course does not mean that the Cabinet did

not realise the importance of this subject or the deep feeling behind it. But the Cabinet felt very strongly that during the critical period in which we live now, it would be a very serious risk for us to upset the growing equilibrium in the country by an attempt to change provincial boundaries and the like. They would not be discharging their responsibility if they did not express their opinion on this subject clearly. It is manifest that arguments about new provinces etc. give rise to strong passions. Anything that leads to this state of mind is deplorable and upsetting. We dare not encourage this trouble when we have to face major problems all over India and in the world.

26. Another matter stressed in the Cabinet was the necessity of considering certain frontier areas as well as the key places from the point of view of defence and economic welfare.

27. You are aware that Lord Boyd Orr, the eminent expert in food and agriculture, was invited by the Government of India to advise us on the food problem. He spent three weeks here and has given us his suggestions. The Food Ministry is considering them and we hope to come to some decision in regard to them fairly soon. They will no doubt be communicated to you. Lord Boyd Orr pointed out that many of our policies were excellent, but the real snag lies in implementing them. Somehow or other they lost themselves at some places between the policy-forming authority and the man in the field. Greater food production depends upon the man in the field and unless he is brought into the picture and made actively to cooperate, results will be limited. He gave the instance of England during the war time, where great success was obtained in food production because of cooperation all round and a determined drive. Lord Boyd Orr also pointed out that he felt that there was not enough cooperation and unity of outlook between the various provinces and the Centre in this most vital problem. I pass this on to you because this cooperation depends so much on your and other provincial governments.

28. There is one matter to which I should like to draw your attention. Ministers of one province sometimes visit another province or State. If this is entirely a private visit, then no fuss need be made about it. But if it is at all a public visit or for any kind of a public function, then official intimation should be sent to the government of the province being visited. It must be remembered that it is improper and undignified for a minister to criticise the activities of another provincial government in public.

29. In another two days' time the Constituent Assembly is meeting for, I hope, the last stage in the journey to finalising the Constitution and thus laying the firm foundations for the Indian Republic of our dreams. India rose bigger and bigger before our eyes. May we, as individuals or as groups, keep pace with this growth and be worthy of it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

LETTERS TO THE PREMIERS OF PROVINCES

II

New Delhi
June 3, 1949

My dear Premier,

In foreign affairs, the Big Four continue to discuss the future of Germany without coming to an agreement.¹ In spite of this lack of agreement, there is little doubt that war tension has subsided in Europe. In China, the Chinese communist armies advance southwards, while the old nationalist Government has practically broken up completely. It is clear that there is no sufficient organised force in China which can stop the advance of the communist armies. They may be stopped or delayed by internal factors and by the great distances, not by opposing armies. They will, thus, in all probability, continue to march southward and after some months occupy the whole of China. At a rough estimate this process should be completed by the beginning of September.

2. The question of Hong Kong will then no doubt arise and this may give rise to a lot of trouble. Undoubtedly Hong Kong is Chinese and must, some time or other, revert to China. I suppose the U.K. Government must realise this, although they have a perpetual lease of Hong Kong. No Chinese government, Nationalist or communist, can agree to any foreign power holding on to Chinese territory.

3. At the same time the U.K. Government is certainly not going to agree to walk out of Hong Kong under threat of armed attack. They may be prepared to discuss the future of the city. If they are attacked, they will no doubt defend themselves and this may have far-reaching consequences in the East. It is a little difficult to say now what might happen in Hong Kong, as this will undoubtedly depend on other events which precede this. The next two or three months will determine in many ways the relationship of other nations to the new China. It is clear that the U.K. Government, or indeed any other foreign government, is anxious to avoid conflict in China. On the whole it would seem that the Chinese communist government will also avoid this conflict with any Western power. So the chances of such a conflict are very limited.

4. It must be remembered that at the present moment there is no central government in China. The old Nationalist Government obviously is not functioning as any kind of a central government, or even a government for any considerable area. The communists, though possessing large areas of territory, have not announced any central government. So long as this central government is not formed

1. The foreign ministers at their meeting at Paris from 23 May to 20 June were unable to reach an agreement on the restoration of economic and political unity in Germany, though they were agreed on a "live and let live" arrangement between the occupying powers. It was announced that expansion of trade between the zones and between the sectors of Berlin would be sought.

and announced, even the question of recognition does not arise. Foreign ambassadors in Nanking are at present in a very peculiar and somewhat embarrassing position. They are not accredited to the new government and have no formal contacts with it. They live there, therefore, very much in the air and cannot do much. Indeed it is difficult for us to communicate with our Ambassador, though we do get messages across occasionally through devious routes. It is possible that we may have to call him back, in common with other powers, for report and consultation. But our instructions to him are to stay on as long as he possibly can.

5. The behaviour of the French Government towards India has lately been very peculiar. You know that we have had a great deal of argument with them about the proposed plebiscite in the French possessions and we have insisted all along that there must be neutral observers, approved of by both parties, for this plebiscite. They have not accepted our viewpoint yet and it would almost appear that they will act unilaterally. If that happens, we do not propose to consider this plebiscite binding upon us in any way. Our information is that Pondicherry has never had proper elections there in the past. If care is not taken, this plebiscite may well be farcical.²

6. While this argument was going on, another matter supervened. Our customs union lapsed and we put up a customs barrier. The French Government has been protesting vigorously against this, although at the same time they have not agreed to continue the old treaty for the time being. Some days ago, we were astonished to receive a demand from the French Government for the withdrawal of our Consul General³ from Pondicherry. This was a serious matter and our only response could be a demand for the withdrawal of the French Ambassador from Delhi. Before making this demand, however, we pointed out these grave consequences to the French Government and called upon them to withdraw their letter and their demand for the removal of the Consul General. The French Government agreed to this and the matter therefore ended for the time being.

7. Meanwhile, it appears from press reports that the French Government have got the Vice-Chairman of The Hague Court to appoint some observers to enquire into the customs barrier complaints. This again surprised us greatly as we had had no previous intimation of this and it is not clear where The Hague Court comes into the picture. We do not propose to recognise any such unilateral action.

8. I paid a brief visit to Kashmir last week. I found conditions there somewhat better than previously. That is to say the transport and civil supplies were better organised. But there are still very great difficulties in many ways. So far as the United Nations are concerned, they have now received the replies both of India and Pakistan and are presumably considering what their next step should be. We

2. A referendum was held in Chandernagore on 19 June 1949. Referendum in other French possessions scheduled for 11 December 1949 was, however, postponed.

3. Mirza Rashid Ali Baig.

shall have to wait for this before determining any action of ours. Meanwhile we hold on firmly to what we have got and try to help improving the administration of Kashmir. Also we give thought to any possible development in the Kashmir situation and prepare for it.

9. I am thinking of paying a visit to Ladakh⁴ early next month on the occasion of the great Buddhist fair at the chief monastery of Ladakh,⁵ a little beyond Leh. This fair attracts Buddhists from round-about areas, Tibet and Central Asia also. It is not particularly easy to reach there and my visit will mean my absence from Delhi for about a week. But I think this will be worthwhile from many points of view. From an entirely personal point of view, I am looking forward to it greatly, as a trek in the mountains at 12,000 feet altitude is an exhilarating experience.

10. There has been some misapprehension about Hyderabad. An item of news appeared recently that eight communists had been sentenced to death. This, as stated, was entirely wrong. There is no question of communists as such being sentenced to death. There have been hundreds of murders in the two eastern districts of Hyderabad, where communists have been functioning. Hundreds of State Congressmen have been killed individually. There has been a great deal of loot and arson also. Certain cases were therefore started on charges of murder and eight persons were convicted for murder. An appeal lies to the High Court and subsequently the Governor is entitled to review the sentences. So this is purely a criminal matter tried by normal processes of law.

11. Otherwise, the situation in Hyderabad, though slowly improving, still offers a great many difficult problems. It is manifest that the present temporary Government cannot go on indefinitely and has to give place to a popular government. Before this change-over takes place, we would like certain prerequisites of a strong popular Government to be established.

12. In the little State of Sikkim, which is not on the same level as the Indian States,⁶ there has been trouble between the Maharaja⁷ and his people, with the result that there is hardly any effective administration functioning there. Under pressure, the Maharaja agreed to appoint a ministry. But this ministry is totally inadequate to meet the situation and trouble is feared. At the request of the authorities in Sikkim, we are thinking of appointing an administrator there. Meanwhile we have taken the precaution to send a company of troops there from Darjeeling. The future of Sikkim is tied up completely with India and we can accept no other basis for it. The best course for Sikkim would be to accede to India, as other States have

4. Nehru visited Ladakh from 4 to 8 July 1949.

5. Hemis Gompa.

6. Sikkim had signed a Standstill Agreement with India on 27 February 1948 whereby all agreements and administrative arrangements on matters of common concern existing between the Crown and Sikkim as on 15 August 1947 were to continue between them.

7. Tashi Namgyal (1891-1963); Maharaja of Sikkim, 1914-63.

done. But, unwisely, the people there hesitate to accede. The only other course for them, we have pointed out, is to have a treaty with India which is tantamount to accession on the three subjects. We are considering this treaty.⁸

13. There is at present a great deal of agitation going on in various parts of India by various groups against the governments and the Congress. Unfortunately in most parts of India there is not sufficient work being done on the part of Congressmen. Government as such cannot function in the way the Congress should function. It has become urgently necessary therefore that we should deal with the problems that arise and the criticism that is made in a positive way. No major difficulty is solved by mere repression, though that becomes inevitable when a challenge to the security of the State is made. We have to consider economic programmes and the removal, as far as possible, of the difficulties that face the people. Unfortunately this cannot be done suddenly. But even apart from this, it is necessary to develop a personal and human touch with our people in the villages especially, which Congressmen used to do so effectively in the past. Our people should go about the villages and other places explaining the situation and pointing out our difficulties. This personal touch, if carried on in a friendly and human way, goes far. We seem to have lost that touch and very few people go about as they used to in the old days. The result is that the public comes into contact only with the critics and opponents of government and sees Congress only as a governmental machinery. It is urgently necessary that this aspect of the problem before us should be considered both by our ministers and our colleagues in the Congress.

14. The government can do much, but there are limits beyond which a government cannot go and only a non-official agency can succeed. Even in labour matters, the government can of course do a great deal. But any interference with the independence of trade unions is resented. It is against all the traditions of the labour movement. There should be friendship and cooperation between the trade union movement and government, as at present in the U.K. But if it appears that the trade unions have lost their independence, then their influence lessens and they cannot even give that help to a policy of government, which they otherwise might do.

15. Regarding the communists, I have frequently pointed out to you that the problem before us is not one of fighting any economic doctrine or ideological approach, whether we agree with it or not. What we are up against today is an open, deliberate, aggressive and violent challenge to the very basis of government. It is a kind of revolt which includes in its scope many kinds of violence, murder, loot and sabotage. It is this that we have to combat and not any theory or ideology. This fact should be emphasized because otherwise people in India or in foreign countries imagine that we are suppressing merely differences of opinion. As a matter of fact, anyone who reads periodicals opposed to government will realise to what

8. By a treaty signed by the Governments of India and Sikkim in December 1950, India assumed responsibility for the external affairs, defence and communications of Sikkim.

extreme lengths virulent and even false criticism is permitted to exist. I do not mind criticism, however strong. But I do object to falsehood and I object even more to vulgarity. I must confess to a feeling of depression when I see how some of our newspapers and periodicals stoop to this falsehood and vulgarity, thus bringing down the whole standard of our press. Of course this does not apply to many newspapers and periodicals.

16. We are sending a new Ambassador⁹ to Nepal in the course of the next few days. The situation in Nepal is an uneasy one and it is possible that there might be developments there in the course of the next few months.¹⁰ I am not referring to the much advertised campaigns of some organisations outside Nepal in India,¹¹ but rather to internal conditions in Nepal. As a Government, we must treat Nepal as a friendly country, although we are anxious that there should be domestic reforms there. The country is backward and if it does not change soon enough, it is bound to face trouble. We have impressed this on the authorities there. The position is peculiar, as you no doubt know. The real authority there is the Prime Minister¹² and the Prime Ministership runs in a particular family by a special order of succession.¹³ The King¹⁴ is virtually powerless. It is unfortunate that certain adventurist tactics should be adopted by some people in regard to Nepal. They do no good and often do harm. Our policy is that we permit normal constitutional agitation in India in regard to reforms or changes in Nepal. But we cannot permit any attempt at violence or preparations for violence.

9. C.P.N. Singh (b. 1901); Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, 1945-49; Ambassador to Nepal, 1949-52; Governor of Punjab, 1953-58; Ambassador to Japan, 1959-60; Governor of Uttar Pradesh, 1980-85.
10. Agitation for democratisation of the Government in Nepal led to conflict between the ruling Ranas and the Nepali Congress, the Praja Panchayat, the communists and other political parties, the events culminating in Maharaja Tribhuvan seeking refuge in the Indian Embassy on 6 November 1950. The rule of the Ranas ended and, under the Delhi Agreement of March 1951, a Council of Ministers, collectively responsible to the King, was set up.
11. As all political activities were banned in Nepal, the Nepali National Congress was founded by B.P. Koirala in Calcutta in 1947. In August 1948, the Nepali Democratic Congress was founded by a faction of the ruling family of the Ranas operating from Calcutta. Later both parties merged to form a common front to fight for constitutional reforms.
12. Mohan Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana was the Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal at this time.
13. The Royal decree of 1856 relegated the King of Nepal to an honorary position, while effective authority was concentrated in the hands of the nobility, dominated by the Rana family. Although intra-familial arrangements on such questions as the succession and the distribution of responsibilities were made, there was no development of any viable political institution.
14. Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah (1906-1955); King of Nepal, 1911-50 and 1952-55.

17. In the United Nations Assembly the Indian vote was decisive as regards the future of Italian colonies.¹⁵ The vote on the Indo-South African question was not completely as we wished. But on the whole we have reason for some satisfaction. The resolution passed was practically unanimous. The Hyderabad matter was brought up by Pakistan before the Security Council. It was talked out, but not before the Foreign Minister of Pakistan had made the kind of objectionable speech for which he is becoming rather well-known.¹⁶ In this matter the attitude of the Egyptian representative distressed us and we have drawn the attention of the Egyptian Government to it.

18. Israel has now become a full member of the United Nations¹⁷ and is recognised by a very large number of countries. India voted against this, not because of any ill feeling against the Jews but in continuation of the policy she has consistently pursued in the past. The position now is that Israel has obviously come to stay and is a member of the United Nations. We shall have to consider our future policy in regard to it carefully.

19. The All India Congress Committee, as you know, met at Dehra Dun and approved by a very large majority of the decision that the Indian Republic should continue its free association with the Commonwealth.

20. The Constituent Assembly is meeting from day-to-day and has made fairly rapid progress with its constitution-making. One very important decision, having a certain historic significance, is the abolition of all reservations except in the case of scheduled castes. I am happy that this decision was made and that we had the courage to make it and thus get out of the vicious circle in which we have been for the last several decades. Several important and rather controversial matters have been postponed for the time being and will be taken up after the rest of the Constitution has been disposed of. I hope that we shall finish our constitution-making by the end of July. Newspapers have given publicity to the idea that the Indian Republic will come into existence on the 15th August. That is not feasible. If we finish constitution-making by the end of July, we shall require at least two or three months to revise the Constitution from the point of view of legal wording, phrasing and proper drafting and arrangement. This is likely to take at least two months or more. Thus in no event can the Republic come into existence before

15. A resolution based on the Bevin-Sforza plan, drawn up by the British and Italian foreign ministers, provided for the independence of Libya at the end of ten years; in the interim period its three parts were to be placed under the International Trusteeship System with the U.K., France and Italy as the administering authorities. India opposed this arrangement as tantamount to continuance of colonial administration. The resolution was ultimately defeated.
16. Zafrullah Khan, while criticising the Indian action in Hyderabad, alleged that the minorities there were being persecuted. He urged the United Nations to take suitable action to restore *status quo* in Hyderabad.
17. Israel became a member of the United Nations on 11 May 1949.

October or even later. Of course the full implementation of the Constitution can only take place after elections have been held, but it is certainly proposed to declare the Republic long before that.

21. Discussions are going to take place in regard to the Sterling Balances in London this month. Some of our experts are going there soon for this purpose and the Finance Minister himself will follow them later in the month. Our Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, is also proceeding to Rome to attend the World Health Conference.

22. Our Ministry of Rehabilitation is addressing you in regard to legislation for evacuee property. This is an important matter and it is desirable to have a certain uniformity in India in regard to it. I hope therefore that your government will pay special attention to it and help us in getting this uniformity. The idea is that provinces should follow the model set by the Central Government for the centrally-administered areas.¹⁸

23. I have to remind you again of the food position. I do not wish to draw invidious comparisons but I should like to say that the Bombay province has done fine work in this connection, both in regard to procurement and otherwise. We have been considering Lord Boyd Orr's report and have come to certain conclusions about setting up special emergency boards to deal with this situation. We shall put up such a board here and we expect each province to do likewise with a director, having sufficient powers, in charge. It is important of course to have the right policy, but the problem before us is not so much of policy as of implementing it and having a uniform approach to the problem all over India. Somehow policies and directions do not reach the man in the field, who should count most of all in this campaign. The Bombay Government have made their District Magistrate responsible for the Grow-More-Food Campaign in his district. That is a good idea. But we really have to build up a chain from the Central and provincial governments right down to the agriculturists and the farmer. It is absolutely essential for the fullest cooperation between provinces and the Centre.

24. Apart from major policies, I feel that there is not a sufficient realisation yet among our middle class people, that is, people like us, as to the gravity of the problem and the necessity for austerity. The Congress made an appeal for austerity some time back. This is desirable from the national point of view to preserve our resources. It is also necessitated from the psychological point of view. It is vulgar and wholly unbecoming for food to be wasted in feasts and the like, when there is lack of it in the country. I suggest that regulations to this end should be made and an effective campaign be waged to instruct public opinion. It should be considered extreme bad form for food to be wasted or for big feasts to be given.

18. By an ordinance, the persons who had been allotted evacuee property in Pakistan were denied the right to claim the property left behind by them. The property of such persons was declared as evacuee property.

25. Each family, wherever it is possible, should try to grow some food in its back garden if necessary. Vegetables can always be grown there. As a matter of fact, even wheat can be grown. A friend of mine here in Delhi has grown fairly large quantity of very good wheat in her house garden. I have already written to you about sweet potatoes, tapioca, bananas etc. The point is that each individual and family should, in his or her individual capacity, help in growing food and in becoming self-sufficient as far as possible. We have a habit of advising others and not thinking of our own duty.

26. The Bombay Government has given prizes to villages for procurement. That is a good idea. Similarly prizes might be given for production also. It is unfortunate and most regrettable that some people go about preaching against procurement. Any intelligent person can see that this is anti-national activity. This can only be met by widespread official and non-official propaganda explaining the position and calling for the help of the public.

27. As you know, there has been a good deal of feeling in India about Ganapati's execution¹⁹ in Malaya and Sambasivam's case,²⁰ which has not yet been finally decided. We have protested to the U.K. Government, the Malayan Government, and to all concerned and have indeed done our best in the matter. We do feel that Ganapati's execution should not have taken place. Nevertheless there is another aspect of this case that I should like to place before you, as it has been placed before us by many Indians in Malaya. They have been somewhat agitated by Indian reactions in this matter, because it is affecting their position in Malaya. Malayans and Chinese say that there is no reason why Indians should be treated differently from them. Do they claim some kind of extraterritoriality? If a law or emergency legislation applies to Malayans and Chinese there, why should Indians be excluded? If the law is bad, the agitation should be against the law and not against a particular application of it, which indicates differential treatment. We are told that the normal judicial processes were gone through. Sambasivam's case is a little more difficult than Ganapati's, as he was actually present at a fight during which some people were killed. He may not have been guilty of this, but the facts are not, by any means, clear. I mention this to you because of the embarrassing position that has been created for a large number of Indians in Malaya. I might add that we have encouraged and authorised an appeal on Sambasivam's behalf to the Privy Council

19. S.R. Ganapati (1925-1949); President of the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions for some time; arrested on 15 March 1949 under the Emergency Regulations and executed on 4 May on charges of sedition and collection of fire-arms.
20. School teacher and trade union leader of Malaya; arrested in September 1948 under Emergency Regulations for carrying fire-arms, and sentenced to death.

LETTERS TO THE PREMIERS OF PROVINCES

in London. Whether this succeeds or not, I do not know. It is unlikely to succeed. But we wanted to do our utmost in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

III

New Delhi
June 4, 1949

My dear Premier,

I received a few days ago a letter from Dr Stanley Jones.¹ He is an American missionary, who has travelled a great deal in the world and has spent a considerable time in India. He has recently returned from China and has been powerfully impressed from what he saw there.² I think you will be interested in what he writes. It may be that his views are not wholly applicable to the Indian situation. Nevertheless it is desirable for us to consider the views of a competent and friendly observer. There is a risk for us to be complacent and to forget sometimes the wood for the trees. We get tied up in our petty problems, forgetting that the major problem of the day remains unsolved and might well overwhelm us, if ignored.

It has seemed to me extraordinary how nearly all of us, to whatever group we might belong, do not show a sufficient awareness of the swift currents that are convulsing Asia at present. We are fortunate in many ways, but we are not so fortunate as not to be affected by these currents or to be able to afford to ignore them.

We discuss communism and have to take steps against the violent and subversive activities of the Communist Party in India. That is natural and inevitable. Yet the real problem is something bigger than communism—it is what lies behind communism; it is an economic distemper coming at a time when expectations have been roused and some kind of political consciousness has come into existence among vast masses of the people.

1. (1884-1973); American missionary who came to India in 1907; founded the Sat Tal Ashram in Nainital and the Nur Manzil Psychiatric Centre in Lucknow; author of several books including *Christ of the Indian Road* and *Abundant Living*.
2. Jones wrote on 15 May 1949 that the Chinese communists had succeeded because they had completed the revolution which the Kuomintang had failed to do. Besides, the communist revolution had remained “basically Chinese in character; though it was deeply influenced by Russia, it was not dictated to by Moscow.” He thought that the Congress in India would have to initiate radical reforms, both within the Party and the country, if it desired to fight the communist danger.

The Chinese revolution, as I have previously pointed out to you, is one of the biggest changes and upheavals in history and it is going to have very far-reaching consequences. Those consequences cannot simply be judged in terms of communism. This Chinese revolution has been said to be a continuation of the revolution that started in China in 1911 when the Manchu dynasty was thrown out. Since then, for these long years, China has been in great travail and her millions have suffered terribly, and essentially all these ups and downs of forty-eight years have been parts of a major agrarian revolution. No one can say what the future of China will be. The country will still take a fairly considerable time to settle down in any form. Standards are very low there and communism by itself does not raise standards, though a better organisation of the agrarian system does relieve the burden on the peasantry to some extent. Ultimately standards can only be raised by greater production as well as proper distribution.

Competent observers, well-acquainted with the Chinese scene, say that the leaders of the Chinese communists are certainly one hundred per cent Marxists, but their interpretation of Marxism is not always in line with the present Russian interpretation. Apart from this it is always made to fit in realistically with conditions in China. I think it may be said with truth that in spite of the sympathy that the Soviet Russia has for communist China, the former has not viewed with favour many developments in China. Only four years ago, Soviet Russia, in a sense, disowned the communists of China by making a treaty with the Nationalist Government.³ It is also, on the whole, true that the Soviet Russia has not helped with any supplies to communist armies of China. Their supplies had largely come from Japanese dumps left after the War and from capture of American material given to the Nationalist armies.

The Chinese communist armies, therefore, have gained their success not with Soviet aid but relying largely upon themselves. Therefore they are not dependent on the Soviet, as many communist parties and groups in Europe have been. They have shown this independence on various occasions. Their leaders are undoubtedly able men and they have twenty-five years' hard experience behind them. Neutral and even hostile observers have stated that their solution of the land problem is for the moment effective and has given satisfaction to the peasantry. Also that their administration has compared very favourably, both from the point of view of efficiency and integrity, with the administration of the Nationalist Government in China. All this leads to the conclusion that the agrarian problem is first in priority in large parts of Asia, including India. Because of many of our agrarian reforms

3. The Treaty of Friendship and Alliance signed on 14 August 1945 allowed the Soviet Union the use of port facilities at Dairen and railroad rights in Manchuria, and provided for the setting up of a joint Sino-Soviet naval base at Port Arthur. The Soviet Union, in return, assured "moral and military assistance" to the Nationalist Government in China against the Japanese invasion, and non-interference in the internal affairs of China.

in India, the position here is more stable and the Government and the Congress have the backing of a large part of the peasantry. Without that the Government could not carry on. But we have far from solved this agrarian problem and the pledges we gave for the liquidation of the zamindari system yet remain to be fulfilled.

I have indicated a few aspects of this problem. But the main thing is that we must look at this basic problem and not lose ourselves in a maze of detail or of petty reforms which do not touch the main problem and sometimes create additional burdens for us. Obviously if we fail on the main issue, all our smaller efforts and reforms will be swept away.

Most Congressmen seem to be unaware of these grave developments in Asia, or, if they are aware, they do not attach sufficient importance to them in relation to India. Socialists carry on petty agitations and satyagraha and are equally unaware of this fundamental position. Most people think in terms of the elections to come. But much may happen before these elections. I ventured to say at a press interview some time ago that the Socialists were completely static in their outlook. I think this is perfectly true in spite of their revolutionary slogans. I would add that Congressmen are also often equally static. In a rapidly changing world, nothing is more dangerous than the static state of mind and complacency. We, who are burdened with governmental responsibility, face a multitude of problems from day-to-day and do our best to solve them. We hardly have time to think of basic issues. Sometimes we get excited about matters of importance no doubt, but which are not only irrelevant but full of danger in the present context of things. Thus, separatist tendencies and provincialism, linguistic provinces, even the question of language, or petty reforms to make people more moral by law or compulsion, absorb our minds. We seem to think that our fight for freedom is over and we can now have the luxury of having fierce arguments about other matters. In any real sense of the word, this fight for freedom is not over, though we may be politically free. It is not over in the economic sense and even politically we have to be continually vigilant. That vigilance is not only necessary because of the curious state of affairs that exists in Pakistan and in the minds of Pakistan's leaders, but even more so because of the other basic factors to which I have referred above. Our contacts with the masses diminish. We take them for granted and that is always a perilous thing to do. We rely on our past prestige and achievements. There is something in that and we have indeed carried on because of that. But past capital cannot last for ever and living on capital without earning anything is apt to lead to bankruptcy.

Even in regard to the food position, as I have written to you in my fortnightly letter, there is no acute awareness of the problem or of our duty. I have often criticised the habits some of us are getting into of continually running down ourselves, our administration, and our people. I think all this is exaggerated, though undoubtedly all these evils exist and have to be fought. But the real evil is not just corruption and nepotism, but a general weakening of the moral fibre. This

shows itself in so many ways. The great urge that carried us forward during the past quarter of a century, based on a sense of duty and willingness to sacrifice for a cause, is not visible except in odd individuals.

I have ventured to write to you in this vein because I am anxious that you and your colleagues, and through you others, might give earnest thought to all these matters. I have supreme faith in India, a faith which transcends even an accumulation of faults and futilities on our part. Nevertheless India will only go ahead by our earnest and concentrated efforts and our acting as men and women of vision, who are not pushed hither and thither by petty conflicts or passions of the moment. Fascism arises and grows when we lose this vision and think in petty terms. Communalism and the R.S.S. movement are products of this and exhibit an amazing narrowness in outlook, even from the opportunist point of view. Communism certainly attracts idealists as well as opportunists. But the way it functions is devoid completely of any moral standard or even any thought for India's good. It thinks in other terms. Yet because there is an element of idealism in it, it draws earnest young men and women. Those who are impelled by a faith in a cause can seldom be crushed by superior force. They can only be defeated by higher idealism as well as vision and a capacity to work for the cause that represents these objectives.

I have written at greater length than I intended. This was intended to be merely a brief forwarding letter. But the thought and ideas in my mind have run away with me. You will forgive me for this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

IV

New Delhi
June 15, 1949

My dear Premier,

Nothing of particular note has happened in international affairs during the past fortnight. The conversations between the four Foreign Ministers are going on in Paris without achieving any substantial result. Nevertheless it may be said that the tension in Europe is far less than it has been during the past year. There is a feeling of satisfaction in American and British chancelleries at the fact that their airlift to Berlin and other measures have exercised enough pressure on the Soviet to make her climb down to some extent. There is little doubt that these measures did inconvenience the Soviet part of Berlin considerably, and, as realists, the Soviet Government decided to change its policy slightly. To consider this as a major victory

in the political field for the United States and the United Kingdom and Allied Powers is an exaggeration. In any event it has led to a relaxation of the tension in Europe.

2. This does not mean that the inner tensions and people's fears and apprehensions do not continue. It does mean that war has receded into the distance. In Russia and in other communist countries of Eastern Europe allied to Russia, the signing of the Atlantic Pact and the formation of the Western Union came as a shock. There is little doubt that most people there believe this to be a precursor of war or, at any rate, a definite preparation for aggressive action against the Soviet. The talk of bases in the Pacific and Atlantic also leads the Russians to come to the same conclusion. They are convinced that the Western Powers are preparing for war.

3. The Western Powers, on the other hand, are frightened at the success of the Soviet policy in Eastern Europe and on the spread of communism in South-East Asia. They are perhaps more afraid of this creeping process and infiltration than of actual war. At the back of their minds there is also the fear that the Soviet Union will be stronger for a war after a few years. It will be stronger both economically and perhaps from the point of view of the development of the atom bomb there.¹

4. Thus there is this mutual fear and suspicion which leads to attempts on both sides to strengthen themselves for a possible war and to manoeuvre for position. This state of affairs plus fear results in a dangerous position. Nevertheless it may be said with some confidence that there will be no major war for a number of years.

5. As a matter of fact attention has very largely shifted from Europe to South-East Asia and, more particularly, to China. No new developments have taken place there. The old Kuomintang Government, which went to Canton, is still partly there and has partly shifted over to Chungking and Formosa. From all reliable accounts it has no effective military force behind it. But distances are great in China and it may take some months before the Communist armies, aided by local uprisings, reach the South. As soon as they do that, the question of Hong Kong will become important. Hong Kong is an old colony of the United Kingdom which was leased for a lengthy period and which has absorbed a vast quantity of British capital. The U.K. Government has no intention of handing over Hong Kong to the new Government in China under threat of military aggression. They have therefore taken steps to increase their defence forces in Hong Kong. I think that the U.K. Government wishes to avoid, as far as possible, any conflict in Hong Kong. Possibly they realise that some time or other Hong Kong will have to join the rest of China. But their interests there are too great for them to surrender them at the bidding of the new Chinese authorities. I do not think myself that any conflict is likely over Hong Kong at this stage. Both parties will try to avoid it although there might be some aggressive talk.

1. On 25 September 1949, the Soviet Union announced a successful atomic explosion.

6. The situation in Nanking vis-a-vis foreign missions is peculiar. The new Communist Government ignores them and at the same time does not interfere with them except that they are not allowed to communicate in cypher or through diplomatic bags. It also appears that the diplomatic staff cannot get exit permits. These foreign missions are thus not recognised by the new Government and are not given any diplomatic privileges. This new Government does not even ask for their recognition. Although this Government is functioning, no central government for China has yet been proclaimed and so the question of recognition does not really arise.

7. Most of the foreign ambassadors are thus more or less marooned in Nanking. They are experiencing considerable difficulties because of the fall of the communist currency and consequent inflation. On the whole the U.K. Government is looking forward to according recognition to the new Chinese Government, but they want some step to be taken by the Chinese first.² The U.S.A. Government is a little more reluctant to go in this direction. Apparently the Chinese Communist Government is in no hurry either to recognise or to be recognised by any one. They want other Powers to cease to recognise the Kuomintang Government before they deal with them.

8. In Burma there has been no great change and yet the situation is somewhat better from the point of view of the Burmese Government. Thakin Nu, the Prime Minister, has recently stated that his Government has turned the corner. He speaks with some assurance.³

9. In Indonesia, interminable internal discussions continue and no one knows when they will end. It is announced that the Republicans will take possession of Jogjakarta soon⁴ but the Dutch Government attaches some conditions which the Republicans do not accept. As is their usual practice, the Dutch Government continue to raise difficulties and obstruct progress. The U.K. and U.S.A. Governments address occasional homilies to the Netherlands and for the rest remain quiescent, or seek to make the Indonesians agree to the Dutch terms. On the whole the Indonesians are pessimistic about the future outcome of these negotiations.

10. The announcement that the Prime Minister of Pakistan is going to visit Moscow soon came as a surprise to many people and all kinds of rumours and speculations were let loose.⁵ I have no special knowledge of what has happened. But, from past experience, I can hazard the guess that no great importance need be attached to this visit. It is interesting to remember that the Pakistan Government

2. Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, had announced this on 9 June.
3. Thakin Nu stated in Parliament on 14 June that "there is no likelihood of the country's return to the bleak days of February, March and April when all of us were kept in a terrible state of suspense."
4. By 29 June, the Dutch evacuated Jogjakarta and the Republicans reestablished their government there.
5. In fact, the visit did not take place.

and their principal ministers have been condemning communism and Soviet policy for a long time. They have held themselves up as bulwarks against the spread of communism in Asia. On this ground they sought the goodwill of the U.K. and even more so the U.S.A. It is a little odd therefore that they should now start flirting with the Soviets. Possibly this is meant chiefly to exercise pressure on the Western Powers, just to show them that Pakistan can look elsewhere if it is not helped in every way. This business of offering oneself to the highest bidder seldom pays and the normal result is disillusionment from every side. Meanwhile Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan have deteriorated still further and there is great tension between the two countries.⁶

11. In regard to the French possessions in India, the French Government has toned down somewhat and accepted our original proposal that observers for the plebiscite should be approved of by us. The two gentlemen who rushed up to India at the bidding of the Vice-Chairman⁷ of The Hague Court have been put in a rather false position. We sent an officer to Pondicherry to enquire into the customs cordon there. As a result of his recommendations, certain changes and relaxations have been accepted.

12. The plebiscite in Chandernagore is due to take place within the next few days. The Pondicherry one has provisionally been fixed for December next.

13. Regarding Kashmir, the U.N. Commission have announced⁸ that both India and Pakistan have been unable to accept their proposals unreservedly. We have not been told what the Pakistan reply is. But evidently it is not one of acceptance. Members of the U.N. Commission have again come to Delhi to confer with us and ask for some elucidation. We are always glad to help them in this way but our basic position remains unchanged and we do not propose to weaken it in any way.

14. A relatively small development in Sikkim on the north-east frontier of India has attracted world attention. This little State (which is different in status from the other Indian States) has a population of only about a lakh and a half. There was a continuing conflict between the Maharaja and the State Congress. As there was fear of bloodshed, we intervened and at the request of the Maharaja our Political Officer took over charge. It is proposed to send a Dewan⁹ or administrator there to function till such time as new arrangements are made. The leader of the State Congress¹⁰ has welcomed our intervention. Thus both the parties to the dispute

6. Afghanistan accused Pakistan of air-bombing Mogholai, a place within the Afghan frontier, and of assisting Agha Amin Jan, stepbrother of King Amanullah, to overthrow the Afghan Government, while Pakistan charged that the Afghans had been trying to proclaim the Fakir of Ipi as the King of Pathanistan.

7. Jose Gustavo Guerrato of El Salvador.

8. On 6 June 1949.

9. J. S. Lal (b. 1914); joined I.C.S. in 1938; Dewan of Sikkim, 1949-54.

10. Tashi Tschering.

have expressed their appreciation of the action we have taken. Nevertheless our critics abroad have called this another imperialist venture on the part of India. As a matter of fact Sikkim is too small a proposition for any such venture and our only desire is that it should have a stable popular government. We should like Sikkim to accede to India, but that is entirely for the people of Sikkim to decide. In any event, whether they accede or not, the three subjects of defence, foreign affairs and communications have to be dealt with by India. A small State like Sikkim can have no defence arrangements or foreign affairs. As for communications, they are non-existent. The importance of Sikkim to us lies in the fact that it is a frontier territory and we cannot afford to take risks with our frontier. I might mention that we give a subsidy to Sikkim and have been giving this for many years past. If this subsidy was stopped, the economic structure of Sikkim would collapse. I hope that the Maharaja or the Maharajkumar of Sikkim as well as the leaders of the State Congress will visit Delhi soon for consultations with us.

15. I had occasion to meet Major-General Chaudhury, the Governor of Hyderabad, yesterday, and discussed the situation there with him. Hyderabad offers peculiar and difficult problems, political, economic, cultural and linguistic. It may take a considerable time before these problems are solved. Even in other areas, like the States of Rajasthan, we have to face many of these problems which have arisen, rather suddenly, as a result of the changes that have taken place. In many of these States of Rajasthan or Hyderabad, the agrarian system was feudal with jagirdars who possessed administrative and judicial powers. It is not surprising therefore that the problems of Hyderabad should take some time for us to solve them. I think, however, that our record in Hyderabad is definitely a good one and the mass of the population there, Hindu or Muslim, appreciates it. Apart from establishing law and order and peaceful conditions there, we have tackled agrarian problems, we have taken over the vast estates of the Nizam, called the *Sarf-i-khas*, and steps have been taken about the jagirs. A committee is considering the whole agrarian system¹¹ and we hope that within the next few months further steps would be taken to reform this. These changes and the further measures taken have met with the approval of a great majority of the people there.

16. We have been aiming at the establishment of a popular administration in Hyderabad. But circumstances have compelled us to continue the present arrangements. It should be noted, however, that the present Government of Hyderabad is not a military government; it is a civil government although the Governor is a military officer. Electoral rolls are being prepared and it is hoped that we might have elections there on the basis of adult franchise round about November next. These elections will be for a Constituent Assembly which will determine the future Constitution of Hyderabad.

11. The committee was headed by M. Madhav Rao.

17. Recently eight persons were condemned to death by a tribunal in Hyderabad and considerable agitation took place and protests came to me from various parts of the world, probably the communist world. As a matter of fact, these were ordinary murder cases under the criminal law. They were treated as ordinary cases and death sentences were passed. They have no political significance. The cases are under appeal.

18. As is well known, communist elements in Hyderabad State created a reign of terror in some of the eastern districts. The old Razakar Government gave them a free hand for reasons of its own. Ever since the Police action, this area has been gradually cleared up and there is the normal functioning of the State apparatus, collection of revenues etc. there. A small area, chiefly forest, remains, where murders etc. still occur. Some of these murders are probably due to odd groups of people who call themselves communists. Others are due just to private vengeance. When a system of law and order breaks down, many people want to profit by it. Even so, the number of murders is far less than it was and compares favourably with some districts in the Madras Presidency.

19. Generally speaking, therefore, the situation in Hyderabad, though far from satisfactory, is an improving one and a good deal of progress in various directions has been made. Perhaps the most important step taken to ease the situation and produce confidence is in relation to the agrarian system.

20. In regard to the States another important development is the decision to have a union between Travancore and Cochin.¹² This will be inaugurated on the 1st July 1949.

21. An event of local importance but of a much wider significance has been recent election in South Calcutta where Shri Sarat Chandra Bose was elected by a very big majority over the Congress candidate. It is easy to find reasons for this, such as the fact that Shri Sarat Chandra Bose's family has been connected with that ward for a long time and that he bears an honoured name; also that recent happenings in Calcutta have greatly irritated large numbers of people. Nevertheless, it would be exceedingly foolish to underrate the significance of this election. It is interesting to note that those opposed to the Congress consisted of diverse elements. There was Shri Sarat Chandra Bose's own relatively small group of Revolutionary Socialists, as they call themselves; there were the communists who were more in evidence than any other group; there were the Hindu communalists with their slogan of "down with the Hindu Code";¹³ there were some odd elements of the old I.N.A.; and there were, I think, some Socialists. We have here in this motley group everyone from fascism to communism and from extreme

12. The covenant was signed on 28 May 1949.

13. In 1941, the Government initiated a move to codify the Hindu personal law relating to property, marriage, inheritance, divorce, guardianship, adoption, etc. A draft Bill codifying the laws was under consideration in the Central Legislature at this time.

secularism to bigoted religion, all joining hands to defeat the Congress candidate, and succeeding. The recent firing in Calcutta on a violent crowd had resulted in the death of four women. (As a matter of fact some of these women died as a result of acid bombs being thrown by some demonstrators). This had created a powerful impression against the Provincial Government and was fully utilised by opponents of the Congress. Women in Calcutta, and there were thousands of women voters, were especially exercised over this matter.

22. All these reasons may or may not be adequate, but the basic fact remains that the Provincial Government of West Bengal and the Congress organisation in Calcutta had both completely lost grip of the situation. Indeed, so far as the Congress in Calcutta is concerned, it is thinking much more of party faction and party intrigue than of the election. Two days after the election, a Congress Party meeting was held and this appeared to these Congressmen of greater importance than the election. If the Congress organisation functions in this way, then it is quite inevitable that it should lose hold of the people as it has done in Calcutta.

23. Calcutta may be, and I think is, an extreme case. But, to a somewhat lesser degree, these forces have some influence all over India. It is up to us, therefore, to understand its importance and to realise that our good intentions are not enough, or the hard work that we put in, if we lose touch with mass opinion. It is the goodwill of the masses that has given strength and victory to the Congress. If that goodwill is withdrawn, then the Congress and those who represent it also fade away. I am afraid that we, who are engrossed in arduous tasks of administration, are apt to forget this side of the picture. We grow smug and self-complacent in the firm belief that we are doing good to our people and making them better in every way. That belief of ours is not sufficient if it is not felt also by the people concerned. We have tended rather to isolate ourselves and sometimes to be a little soft to the wrong done on our side. It is time, therefore, that we gave our earnest thought to this creeping paralysis that is setting in.

24. Congressmen appear to be more interested in the linguistic division of provinces or in a contest for power in the provincial ministries than in the major problems of the day, which in the ultimate analysis are economic. Labour has sometimes been troublesome, but on the whole it has behaved well. It is true, however, that it is rather sullen and far from satisfactory. Capital and those who hold the capital continue also to be sullen in spite of the attempts made by our governments to give them fair play and opportunities of growth. They have failed to deliver the goods. All these problems have to be seen by us together in relation to one another because we cannot afford to ignore or bypass them.

25. As a matter of fact, it can easily be shown that we are making progress in a variety of directions; vast schemes are afoot which will bring relief to our people and increase our food and other essentials of life. Some months ago, the Bihar Legislature passed a Zamindari Abolition Bill. Unfortunately, this was held

up because of certain legal difficulties about compensation.¹⁴ A few days ago the United Provinces Government published their new Zamindari Abolition Bill which the Premier of the United Provinces, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, has rightly described as the "Peasants' Charter".¹⁵ These are the real ways of meeting the problems of the day and the sooner we get on with them, the better. In the United Provinces also, thousands of self-governing village panchayats have come into existence in the course of this year. That is a great measure to bring democracy to the villages.

26. In the same way, other provinces are also going ahead with legislation. Sometimes there is a tendency to lay stress on the moral aspect, that is, of improving people's morals by legislation.¹⁶ It is good to try to improve morals, but legislation is not always a successful method to do so. Also the tendency to interfere with the private life of the individual is naturally resented and is seldom a safe way of dealing with anyone. To some extent, of course, this has to be done but the less it is done, the better.

27. Talks in regard to the sterling balances in London are at present going on between the officials of the two Governments. Our Finance Minister will be going to London soon in connection with these talks.

28. It appears to be desirable from many points of view to encourage tourist traffic in India. This will earn us foreign exchange, but apart from this, it will increase knowledge of India in foreign countries and make us also acquainted more with the outside world. Provincial governments, and of course the Central Government, might take special steps to encourage this and to remove any restriction to it. Unfortunately there are many restrictions and difficulties.

29. I have received reports that our Customs people do not leave a very good impression on foreigners or others who have to pass through their hands; that our Police sometimes become inquisitorial; that visas take a long time in coming and so on. We are looking into this matter and I hope provincial governments will also look into this.

30. In this connection I might also mention that it is highly desirable to encourage tourist traffic to Kashmir. Kashmir is, of course, the ideal place for visitors to go to. It is cheaper than most places now and it is not difficult to go there, more especially by air from Delhi. There is a permit system for military reasons, but there is no difficulty in getting a permit.

14. In March 1949, the Governor General returned the Bihar Zamindari Abolition Bill for reconsideration, with the suggestion that as compensation payable under the Bill amounted to rupees one hundred and fifty crores, the provincial government should acquire land to the extent to which it could pay compensation or for which the landlords agreed to accept non-negotiable bonds. The amended Bill, incorporating these suggestions, was passed by the provincial legislature on 25 April and received the Governor General's assent on 11 July 1949.
15. Pant had said this at a press conference in Lucknow on 10 June 1949.
16. A number of provinces had enacted legislation on prohibition.

31. I should like to mention one matter which has sometimes caused us embarrassment. Ministers or other prominent men or women who go abroad often demand interviews with Prime Ministers, Presidents and the like. Sometimes they approach them direct. This is against all convention. If an interview has to be sought, it must be done through our embassies and not directly. In fact all official approaches have to be made through our embassies. It should be remembered also that there is no point in interviewing Prime Ministers, Presidents or other busy people unless there is some very special reason for it. Our embassies will always help visitors from India, but sometimes they are expected to do something which is beyond their power. They are expected to provide cars for visitors and make all kinds of other complicated arrangements. They cannot do so always as cars are limited. When possible, of course, even this will be done. We are criticised for our expenditure on our missions abroad. If we increase this for the sake of our visitors abroad, then we shall be criticised more.

32. I have not written much about the food situation not because my mind is not full of it, but because I do not wish merely to repeat what I have already said. I hope to write to you separately and more fully on it before long. I do feel that somehow most people in India do not realise the importance of it or, what is more unfortunate still, realising it they do not react properly to it. This state of mind has got to be remedied.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH

1. No Departure from Past Pledges¹

You know why I came here and what has transpired during the last few days.² I have not said much about it and it is not my intention to do so until I return to India. But I may mention a few things.

I find there has been what might be called a somewhat mixed reception in India of what has been done in London during the last week or so.³ But I have no doubt that the great majority of the people in India and more especially those who think about these matters—my colleagues and others in the Congress—are sure to welcome what has been done here. Indeed it would not have been right for me to take any step of vital importance without previously consulting in the fullest degree not only my immediate colleagues but as many others as possible.

Some months ago there was a session of the Indian National Congress at Jaipur and this question was before it. Naturally the minor details were not discussed but the broad features which govern our policy were placed before and approved by that Congress Session.⁴ Others concerned were also consulted and so I had an assurance in my mind that the line I was adopting was more or less in consonance with the desire of a large number of the people with whom I work intimately in India.

Some other colleagues, according to newspaper and other reports, have disapproved of what I have done and have criticised it in more or less strong language. Criticism is always welcome and desirable and it would be a great pity

1. Speech at a reception given by the India League, London, 2 May 1949. From the *National Herald*, 4 May 1949.
2. The final communique issued on 27 April 1949, at the end of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, noted that India intended to be "a sovereign independent Republic" under its new Constitution but that it desired to "continue her membership of the Commonwealth and accepts the King as symbol of free association of its independent member nations" and as its head. The members "accepted and recognised India's continuing membership" and so "remained united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations."
3. Socialist leaders had described the London agreement as "yet another imperialist triumph for the so-called Socialist Government of Britain." The Hindu Mahasabha was also critical of the agreement.
4. In a resolution passed in Jaipur on 19 December 1948, the Congress noted that on India becoming a republic, her existing relationship with the U.K. and the Commonwealth would necessarily have to change and proclaimed India's desire to maintain all such links with other countries as did not come in the way of her freedom of action and independence. The Congress "would welcome her free association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth for their common weal and the promotion of world peace."

if in India or elsewhere people forgot the habit of criticising, and even condemning occasionally, what is done by governments.

So I do not mind that criticism at all but what I would like is a true understanding of what has been done not only in its immediate effect and significance but in its larger consequences. I need hardly say that I feel this agreement, to which I gave my consent, is a good thing for India, for England, for the Commonwealth and for the world. Otherwise naturally I should not have given my consent. I feel also that I have been completely true, if I may say so, to the pledges I, in common with millions of my countrymen, have taken in the past with regard to the independence of India.

India will, in a few months' time, become a republic, a sovereign independent republic, and that means every type of internal and external freedom. In no sense has that been limited or can it be limited.

Some people imagine that behind our talks here lay perhaps some secret conversation. Well, I can assure you there were no such talks of any kind. Some people imagine that we have been discussing the Western Union,⁵ the Atlantic Pact⁶ and other things and giving assurances in regard to them. Again I repeat we have done no such thing.

There can be no such talks in private. We do not function that way in India. We cannot do so. If we did, it would be thrown overboard in India. Everything has happened in a perfectly straightforward way. You may approve or disapprove, but please put out of your mind any idea that there is something you did not see. We have frequently declared that we want to follow a foreign policy of our own without committing ourselves in any way to power blocs that have arisen.

Some people think that this is due to timidity, to just caution, to a desire to sit on the fence, and be passively neutral. Well, some caution is perhaps not such a bad thing. But it is not, so far as we are concerned, a negative policy of neutrality but a positive approach to world problems aimed, above all, at furthering the cause of peace in the world; a positive approach also in Asia, and more especially in South West Asia, where conditions are in a state of upheaval.

As I see things, there is no likelihood of war in the near future, and if we utilise this interval of years properly, we may assure peace for a much longer period. I cannot foresee a greater catastrophe than a world war again. I cannot see how

5. The Western Union, comprising Britain, France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, was formed in February 1948 with a view to strengthening economic, social and cultural ties among the member countries and for mutual assistance in the event of attack.
6. On 4 April 1949, the foreign ministers of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the U.K. and the U.S.A. met in Washington and signed the North Atlantic Treaty mainly to safeguard the Atlantic community against the Soviet bloc. The treaty came into force on 24 August 1949.

any victory in it can be of much use after ruin has descended over a great part of the world.

Obviously, every country has to think in terms of protecting itself against some external disaster or aggression. Few of us are courageous enough to resist aggression by nonviolent means like Gandhi. Few governments do that. If they did, they would cease to exist and other governments would come in their place. We have to prepare to some extent against danger from attack. That has to be done. If it is overdone or done in the wrong way, however, it actually leads to war. Some kind of balance has to be struck. The situation may be progressively eased and therefore the necessity for active operations may become lesser and lesser.

A state of mind arises from fear, suspicion and apprehensiveness and hatred and many other causes that inevitably drive people in certain definite directions. We should like to throw our weight, however light it may be, in the direction of preventing war. We have felt, from the point of view of India as well as from this wider point of view, that we could follow this policy more effectively without lining up with any particular group. In the past a great deal of attention has been concentrated on the problems of Europe, and perhaps rightly so, because the problems of Europe have led to wars and many other important happenings.

It seems to me obvious that, while in the context of today, the problems of Europe are important, the problems of Asia are far more important from not only the Asian point of view but the world point of view of war and peace.

Asia, after some hundreds of years, has suddenly and rapidly changed. For hundreds of years Asia was more or less dominated by Europe. That period has obviously ended, and was bound to end, though some countries in Europe seem peculiarly blind to that fact.

Now something really big is happening in Asia which cannot be classified by any name that can be put on it. It is an upheaval with possibly good but possibly evil in it if it is not properly handled. It is like saying if you like an earthquake or do not, it makes not the slightest difference to the earthquake.

For my part I do not think that any military approach by the major powers can deal with Asia's problems unless it is allied to the psychological approach. Millions of people cannot be suppressed. Their minds and hearts must be won. That is the most vital problem of today.

Another problem which might endanger world stability, which, in turn, might endanger peace tomorrow, is the problem of Africa which affects Asian relations. Africa is in a state of oppression. Some kind of upheaval, if it does come about, will be a very big affair obviously and a very terrible affair.

These are the major problems of the age. But, if you read newspapers, they are full of other matters. They do not see the world as it is today in true perspective. We of India are to some extent in a better position to see the psychological state of these things that are happening because we have gone through them ourselves. This leads us to the conclusion that we would better serve the cause of peace

if we could pursue an independent policy friendly to other countries, but, nevertheless, independent, than if we were tied down to the policies of other nations.

Our policy of non-alignment remains as it was. It has not changed in the slightest. It is to the interest of the Commonwealth that this would be so. I used to try to think what Gandhiji might have advised if he had been living. I was so used to seeking his advice when he was alive that inevitably my mind went to him.

I feel that, quite apart from the results achieved, the manner of doing things on this occasion would have met with the emphatic approval of Gandhiji. It was a friendly, cooperative approach, not yielding on any basic point of principle, and yet we were friendly about it and tried to find a solution. No party tried to put difficulties in the way or humiliated any other party and yet it held on to what it considered important and vital. It was as near as possible a nonviolent approach to difficult problems.

I thought Gandhiji would approve of such an approach which at least does not leave a trail of bitterness which sometimes victory itself does. We have repeatedly seen victory followed by intense bitterness, hatred and disillusionment. To achieve something without bitterness is often more important than to achieve much more with it. For the rest it is for the people of India to decide either way.

2. Note on the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference¹

The Secretary General has prepared a report on the London meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers which took place from April 21st to April 27th, 1949. This report is a fairly full account of what took place during this meeting though inevitably many details could not be given in it.

2. I should like to deal with certain broader aspects of this question and the position of India as it has emerged from the agreement arrived at in London. Personally, I am convinced that the agreement is wholly to our advantage. In fact it is somewhat better than possibly might have been the case. It is true that, owing to existing circumstances, it was desirable for us to maintain the Commonwealth link, and thus there was a certain pressure of circumstances. Even apart from this, however, I feel that the agreement is a desirable one and honourable to India in

1. 7 May 1949. J.N. Collection.

every way. While giving us certain obvious advantages, it gives us the fullest freedom in our internal and external policy.

3. At earlier stages, the idea of a Commonwealth citizenship was discussed and was almost taken for granted. It will be observed that this question, in that particular aspect, does not arise now. All that is expected is some kind of a declaration, by legislation or otherwise, that Commonwealth countries are not foreign to each other in regard to trade or other matters. But it is clearly laid down that each country will decide for itself as to how it should deal with the other Commonwealth countries. This is something fairly precise and not the amorphous thing that a Commonwealth citizenship might have been. In this respect, therefore, there is an improvement.

4. Certain other matters were also discussed during the earlier stages in order to indicate that there were links between the countries of the Commonwealth, apart from allegiance to the King, which could not continue in the case of India. All these matters have also been dropped.

5. We thus have a simple declaration of our desire to remain in the Commonwealth as an independent sovereign republic and our recognition of the King as the symbolic head of the free association of independent countries. It has been made clear that the King is a symbol only and has no functions at all as such. Further, a new type of association is created which is something between countries alien to each other and countries owing a common allegiance. The countries of the Commonwealth are negatively not foreign to each other. This merely means that special consideration might be shown by them to each other without infringing the most-favoured-nation clause. The extent of this consideration depends entirely on the country concerned. This is, therefore, only a permissive clause.

6. It is clearly recognised that India as a sovereign independent republic owes no allegiance to the King and is in no way subservient to any external policy. Even the forms will be those of a completely independent country. The countries of the Commonwealth, though it is hoped friendly to each other, will deal with each other as independent countries. From this point of view it was not considered desirable by us to bring in any dispute between any such two countries before the Commonwealth as such. We did not wish to make the Commonwealth any kind of a tribunal. Thus, we did not wish to raise the South Africa-India issue there or the India-Pakistan issue. It was made perfectly clear that the Commonwealth was in no sense a super State.

7. Both in theory and in practice, India, therefore, as a republic, will have full sovereign and independent status and will in no way owe allegiance to any external authority. That is what we aimed at and we have achieved it.

8. The disadvantages of the agreement recently arrived at are largely psychological and based on certain fears and assumptions which are not justified. They may be listed as follows:

(i) Some people in India dislike any kind of relationship with the Commonwealth after all that has happened in the past, which is perfectly understandable. But it is hardly justified by the turn events have taken and by the obvious fact that we have gained every one of our objectives without committing ourselves to anything.

(ii) A belief in India as well as in some foreign countries that we have in fact or inferentially lined up with the Anglo-American group of nations in regard to external policy. This belief probably exists more strongly in the Soviet group of countries than elsewhere. The belief is completely unfounded. There have been no secret talks or commitments and indeed, whenever occasion arose, it was made perfectly clear that India would keep away from power alignments and follow her own policy as she has indeed endeavoured to do during the past year and a half, in spite of her being a dominion of the Commonwealth during this period. If anything, India is freer to do so as a republic as even the forms that exist now will be absent then. Nevertheless, the fact remains that this apprehension will continue to exercise the minds of statesmen in other countries. In so far as public declarations can remove this apprehension, such declarations will be made. Ultimately it is our continued policy itself which will clarify the situation in the minds of those who doubt.

9. Personally I am convinced, even more than before, that our foreign policy of not linking up with any power group is the only correct policy for us to follow. Both in Asia and in the world at large circumstances have made it inevitable that we should have certain economic and commercial bonds with the Commonwealth countries as well as the U.S.A. These will no doubt continue. Also there will be a measure of consultation between the Commonwealth countries. This need not deflect our policy. It may, on the other hand, succeed in deflecting other's policies, more specially in relation to Asia.

10. I think it is justifiable for us to say that India will be in a freer position to follow any external policy now than it might have been if it had broken the link completely with the Commonwealth. In the latter event, she would have been isolated as there was no other country or group to which it could align itself without detriment. As a result, circumstances might well have forced her to adopt a very cautious and restricted foreign policy, or inevitably to stoop in some particular direction. This latter course would have meant commitments from which we are free now. Thus, oddly enough, outside the Commonwealth we might have lost somewhat our freedom of action.

11. Certain immediate advantages flow from our continued association with the Commonwealth. These are well known and need not be reiterated. Certain immediate disadvantages would have also resulted from our breaking with the Commonwealth. These are also fairly well known. One of these, however, might be mentioned and that is the position of nine million Indians overseas, chiefly in

the British colonies and protectorates. The position of these Indians would have become anomalous if we had completely separated from the Commonwealth. They would have become aliens in the countries they inhabit and would have had to choose between Indian nationality, with the consequent result of deprivation of citizenship rights in the countries they live in, or a denial of Indian nationality. This was a serious matter for such a large number of persons and new and difficult problems would have arisen.

12. Whatever the advantages in remaining in the Commonwealth and whatever the disadvantages in breaking from it, it was clear to me that in no event could we agree to the slightest abrogation or limitation of full sovereignty and independence as a republic. I made that perfectly clear at every stage. It was, therefore, only on this basis that discussions took place.

13. Apart from the obvious advantages gained by us by this agreement, I think that it was right from a larger point of view. I think that India will have the opportunity to progress more rapidly now, industrially and otherwise, and at the same time to play a much more definite role in Asian and world affairs. In England the agreement produced a very remarkable feeling of friendship for India, in which even Mr Winston Churchill and his colleagues joined wholeheartedly. We have not based our policies in the past on what Mr Churchill might say or do and we are not going to do so in future, but I think it is certainly something to the good that even that group represented by Mr Churchill has veered round completely from its old position. As circumstances are, this can be of help to us from time to time.

14. I should like to point out one factor which, I think, is of importance, although it cannot be easily measured or assessed. This is the manner of our approach to this vital problem and the way it was ultimately solved so far as the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting was concerned. It is possible that I might have succeeded in changing a few words here and there in the declaration which was made, though the substance would have remained the same. I preferred, however, not to adopt a spirit of too much distrust or of bargaining, once my main objective was attained. In the result, there was a feeling of gratitude to India all round, not only at the meeting itself but outside also. While, therefore, we gained our objectives, we did not do so in a way so as to leave a trail of bitterness behind. On the contrary we left a general impression of goodwill, more specially towards India. There was also a general impression that we had gained a diplomatic victory. That, I found, was the impression in Switzerland also which I visited later. Our straightforward methods were appreciated. In the London meeting, Pakistan did not come off well at all and produced an unfavourable impression on those present. On one occasion there were rather high words between the U.K. Prime Minister and the Pakistan representatives.

15. On the whole, therefore, I feel convinced that we have every reason to be gratified at the result of this meeting. What we do in future will depend upon

ourselves and on the strength of India. The main thing, therefore, is to build up that strength and, so far as our foreign policy is concerned, to adopt a friendly attitude towards all other countries, avoid entanglements and commitments and, more specially, remain aloof from any power blocs. I need hardly add that the Commonwealth association is one which is terminable at the pleasure of any party at any time.

3. To Stafford Cripps¹

New Delhi
May 8, 1949

My dear Stafford,

It was very good of you to write to me just before you left for Italy. I was happy to receive your letter.

I am quite sure that what we did in London was the right thing, not only from the point of view of India and England but, even more so, from the larger viewpoint that you mention. It is a good omen that we all agreed in spite of many other differences, and I think we have definitely served the cause of peace in the world.²

I knew, even when I was in London, that while my action would be generally approved in India, it would be fiercely criticised by some. It was not possible then or at any time to get every one to agree. But I did want a general consensus of agreement and I was particularly anxious to avoid making this a Party issue in India. On my return I find a very large measure of agreement. Our Cabinet today approved of my action and I have little doubt that our Constituent Assembly will also approve of it a week or so later. Nevertheless there has been some fierce criticism from our Socialist friends and others which has rather distressed me. I did not expect them to agree, but I did want them to try to understand the implications of what we had done. Oddly enough, or perhaps it is natural, the mere fact that people and the press in England were good enough to say kind words about me, makes many people suspicious here. The fact that even Winston Churchill should fall into line raises further suspicion. Such is the world.

1. J.N. Collection. Stafford Cripps was the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the British Government.
2. Cripps wrote on 28 April 1949, "I have somehow looked upon this meeting as the climax of our mutual efforts over the last nine years and more...I do believe that you have done something really big in world history... eight nations have settled a most difficult and potentially troublesome question with great friendliness and simplicity. We have once again shown what can be done by sincere and honest individuals determined to accommodate one another and to have regard for the good of humanity."

Unfortunately almost immediately after our London agreement came the news of the execution of an Indian trade union leader, Ganapati, in Malaya. He was sentenced to death, because he was found with arms in his possession and this involves a death penalty in Malaya now. Whatever the merits of this case, this execution aroused very great indignation in India and somehow it is put forward as an argument for our not continuing in the Commonwealth.

I remember well the weekend that I spent at Goodfellows. It seems terribly long ago. Indeed even what took place two or three years ago seems long ago and in a distant age. I entirely agree with you about what you say about Krishna.³

I do hope that your brief holiday in Italy has done you good. No one needed a holiday more than you did. I wish it had been for a longer period.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. Cripps reminisced, "It is curious to think of those old days which now seem so long ago when you came to Goodfellows and both of us were regarded extremely unkindly by the 'powers that were.' I don't think we then envisaged the possibility of such a meeting of P.M.s as that we have just attended within so short a period of time. It is curious too that Krishna, the revolutionary, the anti-British Indian Leaguer, has become one of the chief architects of the new and invigorated Commonwealth of Nations. That is a tremendous tribute to his character and his vision."

4. An Agreement in India's Interest¹

Friends and Comrades,

Three days ago I returned to Delhi after attending the meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. It is right that I should report to you about this meeting, which resulted in a fateful and historic decision. That decision will have to be placed before the Constituent Assembly for their approval. It will also be considered by the All India Congress Committee, which has been the torch-bearer of India's freedom these many years. It is for these great and representative organisations to give the final verdict on what was done by me and others in London last month.

You have already read the declaration embodying the conclusions reached by the London meeting. The impression that I have gathered since my return is that

1. Broadcast to the nation, New Delhi, 10 May 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. Nehru also addressed the nation in similar terms in Hindi.

the vast majority of our people have welcomed this decision, though there are some who have criticised, in strong language, what I did, and have even called it a great blunder and an outrage on the national sentiments of the Indian people.² During a fairly long career in India's service I have often been accused of errors and mistakes, but I have never yet been charged with doing anything which was against the honour and self-respect of India or her people. It is a serious matter, therefore, if even a few persons, whose opinions I value, should consider that I have committed an outrage. I want to tell you that I have not the least doubt in my mind that I have adhered, in letter and in spirit, to every pledge that I, in common with millions of countrymen, have taken in regard to the independence of India during the past twenty years and more. I am convinced that, far from injuring the honour or interest of India, the action that I took in London has kept that honour bright and shining and enhanced her position in the world. Though the critics are few, I would rather address myself to them than to the much larger number of my people, who have already expressed their approval. I can only imagine that these critics are labouring under some misapprehension or are under the impression that something else has been done in secrecy which has not seen the light of day.³ I wish to say that nothing has been done in secret, and that no commitments of any kind, limiting our sovereignty or our internal or external policy, have been made, whether in the political or economic or military spheres. Our foreign policy has often been declared by me to be one of working for peace and friendship with all countries, and of avoiding alignments with power blocs. That remains the keystone of our policy today. We stand for the freedom of suppressed nationalities and for putting an end to racial discrimination. I am convinced that the sovereign Indian Republic, freely associating herself with the other countries of the Commonwealth, will be completely free to follow this policy, perhaps in an even greater measure and with greater influence than before.

We took a pledge long ago to achieve *Purna Swaraj*—complete independence. We have achieved it. Does a nation lose its independence by alliance with another country? Alliances normally mean mutual commitments, but free association of sovereign Commonwealth nations does not involve such commitments. Its very strength lies in its flexibility and its complete freedom. It is well known that it

2. This was a comment by the Socialists.
3. Nehru had written to Rajagopalachari on 9 May, "Thank you for sending me corrections to my draft broadcast. I have adopted nearly all of them except one. This one relates to my denying that no commitments were made etc. It is true that I have denied this in a speech in London which was reported in India. But the matter is much too important to be allowed to rest at that. It affects other countries. My speech may have been well reported here. But it was not so reported elsewhere. A broadcast will go further. Therefore I think that part should remain."

is open to any member-nation to go out of the Commonwealth if it so chooses. It must be remembered that the Commonwealth is not a super State in any sense of the term. We have agreed to consider the King as the symbolic head of this free association. But the King has no function attached to that status in the Commonwealth. So far as the Constitution of India is concerned the King has no place, and we shall owe no allegiance to him.

I have naturally looked to the interests of India, for that is my first duty. I have always conceived that duty in terms of the larger good of the world. That was the lesson that our master taught us, and he told us also to pursue the ways of peace and of friendship with others, always maintaining the freedom and dignity of India. The world is full of strife today and disaster looms on the horizon. In men's hearts there is hatred and fear and suspicion which cloud their vision. Every step, therefore, which leads to a lessening of this tension in the world should be a welcome step. I think it is a good augury for the future that the old conflict between India and England should be resolved in this friendly way, which is honourable to both countries. There are too many disruptive forces in the world for us to throw our weight in favour of further disruption, and any opportunity that offers itself to heal old wounds and to further the cause of cooperation should be welcomed.

I know that much is being done in parts of the Commonwealth which is exceedingly distasteful to us and against which we have struggled in the past. That is a matter to be dealt with by us as a sovereign nation. Let us not mix up things which should be kept apart. It has been India's privilege in the past to be a meeting-place for many cultures. It may be her privilege in the present and the future to be a bridge to join warring factions and to help in maintaining that most urgent thing of today and the future—the peace of the world. It is in the belief that India could more effectively pursue this policy of encouraging peace and freedom and of lessening the bitter hatreds and tensions in the world that I willingly agreed to the London agreement. I associated myself with the decisions taken in London at the Prime Ministers' meeting in the full belief that they were the right decisions for our country and for the world. I trust that the Indian people will also view them in that light and accept them in a manner worthy of the stature and culture of India and with full faith in our future. Let us not waste our energy at this critical moment in the world's history over empty debates. But rather let us concentrate on the urgent tasks of today so that India may be great and strong and in a position to play a beneficent part in Asia and the world. *Jai Hind.*

5. The Commonwealth of Nations¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Ladies and gentlemen, the main purpose of this press conference is to discuss with you this business of India and the Commonwealth and the recent declaration made by the meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. Well, I have already said something about this on several occasions and there is no particular point in my repeating myself. So I think the best course for me is to invite questions straight off. After that, you can ask me questions on other topics too, and if I have anything to add, I shall do so.

Question: We shall be thankful if you will kindly precisely give us the rights and obligations under the new association of India and the Commonwealth.

JN: There is no precision about an essentially fluid arrangement without any commitment on any side. Even previously the Commonwealth was anything but a rigid organisation; previously it was more or less a family affair so far as the Commonwealth was concerned. Then, last year or a year and a half ago, India, Pakistan and Ceylon came into the picture. It then ceased to be a family affair as it was previously. But the fluidity remained, and each country could do just what it pleased in law and in practice, subject only of course to certain considerations of friendliness and the desire to cooperate wherever possible. But there were no limitations. Now, undoubtedly this new declaration of London, which is worded simply and briefly but which in effect brings about a very major change in the whole conception of the Commonwealth, it brings out very clearly and precisely that it is not a family affair. It is not even a collection of countries owing allegiance to the King. It is just an association of a number of independent countries, presumably because they think it is to their benefit to be so associated, and completely free to do what they like within that association. So, it is very difficult to be precise about anything except negatively that it does not commit one to any particular course of action in law and practice, but naturally, one presumes, there will be consultation, cooperation, a certain friendly approach and that kind of thing under the new arrangement.

I do not know whether I can define it precisely, but you will remember that at one time there was talk of what was called a Commonwealth citizenship. Now, that Commonwealth citizenship was a nebulous, vague idea. Nobody could define what it was, just as this whole Commonwealth conception is without precedent in history. And I cannot give you an example; especially it has grown now.

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 11 May 1949. Press Information Bureau.

So that Commonwealth citizenship was also a very nebulous idea. What it really meant ultimately was the creation of something in regard to those countries which was between nationality and foreignness. That is to say, they were obviously not nationals of each other's countries but we wanted to make them something less than foreign in regard to trade and other matters like that.

You know that normally when one has a treaty with a country, there is a clause in it—the most-favoured-nation clause it is called. That is to say, if we give any special privilege to another nation, that privilege will automatically apply to the first nation too, under this clause. Now, all that the Commonwealth citizenship, at that time when we discussed it, denoted was that, if we so choose, we could give each other some additional privileges which would not be covered by the most-favoured-nation clause. That was something precise. As matters stand now, there is no question of Commonwealth citizenship, but that precise idea of lack of being foreign continues—it is a new conception which is, so far as I know, unknown to history or to any constitution; and later, by declaration or by legislation, if necessary, or by mentioning it in treaties, we want to make it clear that if any Commonwealth country chooses to give a particular privilege to any other Commonwealth country, it is open for it to do so without coming into conflict with the most-favoured-nation clause. Of course that would be a matter of treaty. It is not incumbent on any country to do so; to do so is left open so that if any two of the Commonwealth countries choose to do so *inter se*, to give certain privileges to each other, to give mutual advantages or privileges, it is open for them to do so. Therefore, Commonwealth countries *inter se* will not be foreign to each other in the sense that other countries would be.

Q: Since this is a free association, was it necessary to regard the King as the symbol of that association?

JN: It is, as you see, an extraordinarily fluid association. Normally, associations between countries are regulated by specific written alliances where obligations and privileges are put down definitely as to what one country gives or takes, and what the other countries give or take. Now, an absolutely free association like this, where there is no such putting down of obligations and privileges, becomes still looser in a sense and one has to have something to show that there is a link somewhere, apart from saying just in sheer goodwill that we are friends of each other. That was one reason why from the point of view, perhaps, of any challenge made from another country, some kind of link might be kept. The second obvious reason, and perhaps the more important reason, was that certain countries of the Commonwealth attached great importance to this from their own point of view, and we did not think it right to go another way in this matter. We argued this for a considerable time, and we ultimately accepted the King as the symbolic head, which, as you know, means, from the point of view of functions, nothing at all, because a symbolic

head has no functions at all. Even previously he had no functions in the Commonwealth. All the functions he had were as the King of a particular country. Now it is specifically laid down that he has no function in regard to the Commonwealth. Of course he may have functions as the King of New Zealand or as the King of Canada; we owe no allegiance to him. As a symbolic head of the Commonwealth we acknowledge him; we respect his position but he has no functions.

Q: Was any machinery thought of to settle inter-dominion disputes?

JN: No, not this time. Some months back some mention of it was made,² but beyond mere mention it did not go far. This time it was not even mentioned at all. In fact the greatest stress was laid on the complete sovereignty and independence of nations and the mere fact of the suggestion of a machinery meant that there was some functional organisation of the Commonwealth which was not liked not only by us but by the other Commonwealth countries also.

Q: What advantages do you consider will India have by remaining in the Commonwealth?

JN: Well, there are certain what might be called temporary advantages and there are certain psychological advantages in regard to world peace. I think the temporary advantages are simple: we cooperate in building up our industry and, in other spheres, in getting training etc., etc. These are relatively small advantages in the sense that we could get them from elsewhere too. Possibly there might be some delay and we do not want delays, but still we could get them on honourable terms. But in the larger sphere of conflict and tension in this world we have taken up a special attitude which is defined as not lining up with power blocs. Not that our minds are blank on the major issues of the world; nothing of that kind. But we do feel that apart from conflicts there is a tremendous amount of fear, suspicion and hatred against each other, and that is more dangerous than basic conflicts. Now it is a possibility that a country like India—maybe other countries too—might help in easing down the situation and I felt, and I do feel, that being in the Commonwealth we might be able to do it more effectively than otherwise. In fact, what has appealed to me most in this business of the London meeting has been not merely, as I think, that it was an honourable and right solution, but the manner of doing it appealed to me as a good example to countries for approaching vital problems in a friendly way, trying to adjust their differences and to consider things objectively and not allowing past passions and hatreds to come in the way of an objective consideration

2. This subject was discussed at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in October 1948. For Nehru's views see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 8, pp. 246-247.

of the problem. If that method could be used a little more in international affairs, peace would be more assured.

Q: Substantially can you differentiate between this association and a power bloc?

JN: I do not know what you mean by "substantially". This has nothing to do with it.

Q: In view of your policy not to line up with any side, how do you explain the fact that you are carrying on defence discussions with British and American Governments, but do not have corresponding discussions with the Russian Government?

JN: First of all, I am not aware of any such thing. My friend seems to think that we have been carrying on defence discussions. To my knowledge we have not done that. That of course does not mean that at any time, if we think it is necessary, we won't do it. Certainly we will do it if we think it is necessary. But there seems to be such an extraordinary amount of, shall I say, misapprehension in the public mind, and rumours are given publicity with such extraordinary ease in newspapers. For instance, about the time I was there—in fact before I went there—a military mission of ours was in England.³ The newspapers came out with a story that they had gone there in connection with the Commonwealth Conference to carry on military or defence discussions. The mission had absolutely nothing to do with this Conference. They had decided to go there long before this Commonwealth Conference had been thought of. They went first to Switzerland, then to England and back again to Switzerland and then I believe they went to America. They have not come back yet. They went primarily with a view to establishing certain factories here which we want to put up—defence factories—and to buy certain equipment. They had nothing to do with the Commonwealth meeting.

Similarly there was another thing. The newspapers came out with big headlines that, either at my initiative or whatever it may be, Lord Mountbatten had rushed to London at the time of the Commonwealth Conference. Lord Mountbatten happens to be an Admiral of the British Navy. It so happened that at Greenwich a huge naval exercise was planned to which every Admiral of the British Navy from all the seas of the wide world had been summoned about the 23rd April.⁴ So all these Admirals in their bright coloured uniforms were there. Lord Mountbatten happened to be there one or two days earlier and it was thought that I had summoned him to confer with him. These are complete misapprehensions.

3. An Indian military mission was in the U.K. from 18 to 27 April 1949. The mission also visited Switzerland, the U.S.A. and Canada.
4. The British Navy held a Planning Conference, known as 'Exercise Trident', for four days at Greenwich in April 1949.

So in answering this question, I might say that there has been no discussion on defence problems with any other government. Discussions had been there about training, equipment, etc., which we want. As I said, if we feel like it and an occasion arises, we will discuss defence with any other country. As for discussing defence with Russia, at the moment it is physically and, if I may say so, psychologically not possible. It is not possible physically because we have not got any common problems to discuss. You must remember that our whole defence apparatus—army, navy and air force—had been built up on a certain model, that is, the British model. It will take a few years to change that model, but it was built up by British officers on that type. Each major country has its own model. If we continue it as it is we have to keep on that model, of course varying it here and there; and if we have to change it completely, root and branch, it is a major operation and creates lots of difficulties. So when we discuss army and naval matters, whether it is about equipment or training, we have to keep to that model. But, as I pointed out, we do go to other countries. In regard to our factories we have come to an arrangement with a famous Swiss firm to put up certain factories here. We do go outside like that.

Q: What does it mean when it is said that henceforth if any Commonwealth countries have any disagreements the rest will be called upon to arbitrate?

JN: I think I said that the Commonwealth is not a super State or any kind of a functioning organisation except an organisation which confers in a friendly way. As it is, even now there are major disputes between Commonwealth countries. There are disputes between India and South Africa and between India and Pakistan. There is also lack of agreement between India and Ceylon. But we have not asked the Commonwealth—nor has any one else—to arbitrate, because we do not consider it a suitable tribunal. If we do that we immediately recognise it as a kind of super-tribunal. We only freely associate for conferring in a friendly way and cooperating whenever we think it desirable.

Q: Do you consider that your association in the Commonwealth has damped down these inter-Commonwealth disputes in any way?

JN: Nothing much has happened. The most that you can say is that psychologically a little better atmosphere may be produced. But thus far it has created no difference.

Q: Do you think that in the defence of peace, the Commonwealth countries will go to war?

JN: What I said was that the idea that India might play a somewhat more effective part in throwing her weight on the side of peace had influenced us. I was not for the moment referring to what influenced other governments in the matter. But there

is no question of going to war together. In strict law, even in the past when each Commonwealth country was not a dominion owing allegiance to the King, it was recognised that each of these countries had to declare war separately, that is, it was not automatic. In the last War India automatically was declared to be at war against Germany by the then Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, to which we strongly objected although India was not a dominion at the time. As a dominion every country has to declare war separately. It may be that because of close ties, for example, between Australia, New Zealand and England which, apart from the political sphere, are sentimentally also closely associated, they would almost inevitably declare war if England goes to war. But even so it will be a separate act of war. If that was so between dominions, what will happen when India is an independent republic? It becomes entirely a question of considering the situation for each country and deciding what is best in the interest of peace, or whatever interest it has in view, and following that policy.

Q: In your elucidation of India's foreign policy you have all along stressed the difference between passive neutrality and positive neutrality. Will you define these concepts?

JN: Passive neutrality, as the words say, is a negative thing—of trying to run away from a problem and trying to avoid it so that no injury may come to one till one is forced to go in. We try not to run away from the problem but try to understand it and face it and exercise such influence as we can from time to time, whether it is in the United Nations or in our private contact with other nations. We try to make a positive approach in order to lessen such tension as exists and to some extent—although I do not claim much for it—we have occasionally succeeded. To give an example, there has been a great difference of opinion in regard to the use and development of atomic energy. At the last session of the United Nations, before the present one, ultimately a committee was formed of which a distinguished Indian delegate was chosen as chairman.⁵ His attitude impressed the two rival theorists so much that the whole atmosphere of that committee changed from a warlike atmosphere to a more objective approach to the problem. Whether it led to any permanent results or not is a different question. But the tension was reduced and both parties congratulated the Indian chairman on his approach to the problem.

Q: Does your attitude in regard to helping Burma come under the head of positive neutrality?

5. On 8 October 1948, B.N. Rau was elected chairman of a sub-committee of the Atomic Energy Commission on atomic control to work out a compromise between the Western countries and the Soviet Union on deadlocked issues.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

JN: That is an entirely separate question in regard to Burma; it has nothing to do with any positive or negative neutrality. It should of course fit in with any larger problem.

Q: Do you think that the neutrality of the U.S. in September 1939 before Pearl Harbour can be described as positive neutrality?

JN: I think it used to be described as benevolent neutrality.

Q: Supposing certain members of the Commonwealth join a particular bloc, is India free to join another bloc while remaining a member of the Commonwealth?

JN: I should imagine that when there is so much conflict, and if countries join opposite blocs like that, probably the time will come when the Commonwealth will break up. So far as India is concerned, I dislike the idea of any blocs of this type. I distinguish between that and mutual cooperation and close cooperation, say between India and certain Asian nations which are not in the Commonwealth at all. We held that conference on Indonesia.⁶ As a result of that conference, we formed consultative groups which have been consulting with one another so that we draw nearer to certain Asian countries—not as a bloc against anybody but for the purpose of mutual help and cooperation whenever it is possible. So that kind of helpful association is always possible. But when obviously a time comes when two members of a certain group are so positively hostile to one another that they cannot pull on, well, they part.

Q: Would it not be better to drop the word "British"?

JN: It has been dropped.

Q: But it is said that people can use both?

JN: I will tell you what exactly happened. It was formally dropped and you will see in the Declaration that the first paragraph refers to the present. All the succeeding paragraphs call it the Commonwealth of Nations. Some countries of the Commonwealth—more especially Australia and New Zealand—said: Do you mind if we call ourselves this? I said: You can do what you like.

6. The Asian Conference on Indonesia was held in New Delhi from 20 to 23 January 1949 at the instance of India.

Q: Do you think that this is nothing more than a projection of the old-time diplomatic alliances?

JN: I should say it is something completely different.

Q: Do you mean to say that England is hanging Indians in Malaya to further the cause of democracy?

JN: Now, do not mix up things. You are referring to Mr Ganapati's execution,⁷ in which you know the Government of India have taken up a very strong line and we are still pursuing it. That has nothing to do with the cause of democracy or the cause of peace and war. It means that the local government in Malaya—and what the local government is I do not know because it is a peculiar mixture of Sultans and High Commissioners and others—acted with extreme folly.⁸

Q: Isn't it the British Government that is ultimately prevailing in Malaya?

JN: Of course, just as the Government of India prevails in every village and district. Many evil deeds are done in the villages and districts and the Government of India can be held responsible for them but not in the sense that they deliberately had them done.

Q: Even if people are hanged in some districts in India, the Government of India are not to blame?

JN: The Government of India does not hang people surely.

Q: The other day four people were shot down in Calcutta and among them was a woman?

JN: I do not know to what particular incident you refer, but, like you, I regret it very much. Still, I must object to the statement that the Government of India is responsible for people being shot down in Calcutta.

Q: The wording of the communique which was issued after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference did give the impression that India approached the other members of the Commonwealth as a petitioner and that petition was rather graciously granted.

7. S.R. Ganapati was executed on 4 May 1949.

8. Ganapati's case was placed before the Sultan of the Malayan State of Selangor. The Sultan confirmed the death sentence on 23 April.

JN: There is no question of any one going as a petitioner anywhere. The question has been actively discussed threadbare. Meanwhile, this question was referred to here in various ways—before the Constituent Assembly, before the Congress, before our Party meetings, before the Working Committee, before the A.I.C.C., etc. It was because of all these discussions that the question ultimately resolved itself into a few simple matters to be agreed to or not. Various drafts were put up. But the point was that India gave information to the other countries that she was becoming a republic. As a matter of fact the actual final decision about a republic has yet to be taken by the Constituent Assembly. We presumed it because of the Objectives Resolution and so we informed the other governments that we were going to become a republic; nevertheless we would be happy to continue as a republic our association with them. I do not call that a petition. It was obvious that there was a very strong desire on the other countries' part to retain the association with India even as a republic, otherwise the thing would not have happened. Just as you are very naturally affected by certain sentimental considerations in regard to this matter, you will realise that if you put yourself in the position of the New Zealander, the Australian or the Canadian, they too have their sentimental feelings. There is no doubt in my mind that, during all these three or four months of contact, these countries were exceedingly anxious to retain their association with India. At the same time, they feel very strongly for the King. We in India have no such feelings but they have a certain strong feeling for their bonds of kinship with the King and England because of family feelings and such like things. In spite of that it was no easy matter for them to get over that sentimental difficulty in their minds. So, there is no question of petitioning. It was a question of our informing them that this change is going to take place in India, but nevertheless we would like to be in the Commonwealth subject to this change, and they are welcoming that position.

Q: May I ask whether you have not compromised the sovereign position of the Constituent Assembly by confronting them with a declaration on the part of the Prime Ministers instead of first of all asking them and then proceeding in the matter?

JN: No. First of all, as regards the technical point, it was perfectly open to the Constituent Assembly to decide as it chose. You will be perfectly right in saying that sometimes decisions are taken which put the parliament in a slightly embarrassing position. That is a fact. But if a treaty is made between two nations, that treaty, having been made, is placed for ratification before the parliaments of the countries. There is no other course, because you cannot discuss the terms of a treaty in open parliament. The treaty is made between representatives of the two governments, and then parliament ratifies the treaty. In this particular matter, may I add that I took particular care. Obviously I could not discuss the details of this

matter before the Constituent Assembly, because they were in a sense, so far as the Assembly were concerned, in the air; but I took particular care to consult the vast majority of the Members of the Constituent Assembly at our Party meetings and elsewhere, and to place everything before them, so that they were seized of the matter.

Q: Is not the position of the Constituent Assembly as a sovereign body entirely different from that of a parliament or the A.I.C.C., which may be merely ratifying an alliance?

JN: It cannot be any more sovereign than a sovereign parliament. It is exactly the same thing. It is in fact the same body here, so far as we are concerned.

Q: Do you envisage the probability of setting up an effective machinery for settling inter-Commonwealth disputes?

JN: I thought I just said that we do not, and none of the Commonwealth countries like the idea of any arbitral tribunal or anything like that in the Commonwealth, because that would have brought about a certain diminution in the sovereignty of the countries, if I may say so. Therefore, we did not like that idea.

Q: If the King were to visit this country, how would we receive him?

JN: As the head of a great State. Just as the President of the United States, if he chose to come here. We would receive him as the head of a great State. Or the president of any other country or the king of any other country. There are not many kings left. And if our President goes anywhere as head of this State, the same would apply.

Q: Would you tell us what is the nature of the aid proposed to be given to Burma?

JN: I do not myself know very much about it. We do not wish, naturally, to get entangled in Burma in any military sense and we are not interfering in that sense at all. But we are very much interested in the fate of a large number of Indians in Burma. There are 800,000 Indians there. We are also interested in the establishment of peace, order and tranquility in Burma. We think that the present Government of Burma, of which Thakin Nu is Prime Minister, as far as we can see, is the only Government that can bring about peace and tranquility in Burma. Without interfering in Burma, so far as we can give help to any friendly Government, we give it.

Q: Some people believe that if our leadership had foresight, the country would not have been partitioned and we could have remained in the Commonwealth as well.

JN: May be; that might be the correct opinion for all I know.

Q: Is it not a fact that there are some basic rules for this association, and if they are violated the members will be expelled?

JN: There are certain basic rules and standards in all human associations. Unfortunately those basic rules and standards are seldom followed even in the intercourse of human beings, much less of nations. Obviously a situation might arise which leads to a parting of ways between countries, as between individuals.

Q: There was a report about Rs two crores being given by the Indian Government or by an Indian bank to the Burmese Government. Is not that Rs two crores as good as military aid?

JN: The report that you refer to—I saw it myself in a newspaper.⁹ That is all that I know about it. But you yourself mentioned that some Indian bank has done it. The Government is far from doing it. The Government has not done anything like that. I read it for the first time in a newspaper. It is entirely the bank's concern. And if you will see the newspaper report, it is in fact a certain rice transaction. They take the risk. And here, may I point out that in spite of troubles in Burma, the procurement of rice has not suffered at all. It is really extraordinary. This is a very important matter for us. We have been getting rice from Burma, and the other countries also are getting the allotted quota of rice thus far.

Q: Does the statement reported to have been made by the Deputy Minister for External Affairs mean that the Government no longer sympathises with Ho Chi Minh but supports the French-sponsored Bao Dai?

JN: I think you are not up-to-date with your information, because the Deputy Minister himself has stated that that is not a correct report at all. He has issued a long statement about it.¹⁰

9. A press report of 9 May stated that an Indian bank had granted credit facilities of Rs two crores to the Government of Burma to enable it to buy rice in Calcutta.
10. B.V. Keskar, during an official visit to Saigon on 27 April 1949, was reported to have said, "The Indian government is pleased with the present turn of events in Indo-China." He later denied having said this.

Q: Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya recently suggested a federation between India and Ceylon. What have you got to say on that?

JN: So far as we are concerned we are quite happy with Ceylon as a completely independent entity.¹¹ We do not in any sense desire any closer association with Ceylon than what exists today. And I want to make this quite clear because there has been some misapprehension in the minds of the people and the Government of Ceylon that we had some designs upon them. Well, we have none at all. What the distant future may show, I do not know. I believe that as the world develops, it is likely that there might be large confederations of many countries. That may happen; that is a vague dream of the future. Ultimately the vague dream goes up to the one world dream: all countries confederated together. That has nothing to do with any policy. Today, so far as Ceylon is concerned, there is no possibility of our trying to make Ceylon in any sense a part of India.

Q: There are major disputes among the countries of the Commonwealth like Kashmir, South Africa, etc. Unless these are amicably settled don't you think that they will lead up to the breaking up of the Commonwealth?

JN: Certainly disruptive tendencies tend to break up an organisation. How far they can go, we cannot say. But after a period of strain it breaks.

Q: Since England is a member of one bloc, does it not follow by implication that by joining the Commonwealth India joins that bloc?

JN: No. As a matter of fact you will see that quite apart from India, other members of the Commonwealth also are not members of any particular bloc. Take for instance a country like Australia. There is this Western Union. Australia has no part in the Western Union; she may have some sympathies, if you like, but regionally she is not concerned with it. She may even disagree with some powers of the Western Union bloc. But obviously the strain would become great if Australia joined some rival bloc or some hostile bloc.

Q: There are rumours that there is going to be a Pacific conference. Do you think if Australia joined that conference she would be joining a bloc?

JN: I saw something in a newspaper about it. I think probably it is some vague aspirations of a hopeful individual. I have not heard anything about it. If there

11. Pattabhi Sitaramayya stated at a press conference on 8 April that Bombay must be protected to make India safe and added, "Ceylon is another such point. Sooner or later we must enter into a treaty with the Ceylonese people so that Ceylon may become an organic part of the body politic."

had been some suggestion, presumably I would have heard about it. There has been a good deal of talk about a Pacific Pact¹² like the Atlantic Pact. Not only is there, so far as I know, any basis for that, but I do not myself see any possibility for that because if you look at this Pacific region you will notice that conflicts are going on there—the Indonesian conflict, for instance. Now, who is going to attend the Pacific conference? The Indonesian Republic or the Dutch? Obviously I think that unless all these conflicts are resolved—whether it is Indo-China or Indonesia or anything else—the idea cannot really take shape; or if it does it will take shape in a wrong way to which the strongest objection will be taken by the other countries in the region.

Q: The Pakistan Prime Minister gave a press conference at which he said that they were free either to remain in the Commonwealth or be like India or completely walk out. Was that position of Pakistan understood in that sense in the Commonwealth Conference?

JN: Sorry. You do not want me to discuss the inner details of the speeches made at the Conference.

Q: Pakistan took up this decision along with seven other countries.

JN: But it becomes a little difficult for me to discuss the details of what transpired at our private meetings. But I will mention this that at a certain stage the possibility—that is, the theoretical possibility—of any other country which may become a republic or take up the position that India had taken up was considered—rather mentioned. All that could be said about it was that nobody could bind down the future, any future conference or any future government. But given the same facts, logically the same results may ensue.

Q: Were there different degrees of enthusiasm over India's equal membership of the Commonwealth?

JN: Of course, all people are not alike.

Q: You said in your broadcast last night that a vast majority of the people have approved this decision. How can you say that the people have approved this decision?

JN: From about forty years' experience of the Indian people.

12. The British and Australian foreign ministers were reported to have discussed the possibility of such a pact in March 1949.

Q: But have not the times changed since then?

JN: Yes, I go on changing with them too.

Q: Do you think that those countries whose allegiance to the King is more thorough like Australia and New Zealand would enjoy special privileges?

JN: In so far as the Commonwealth is concerned, that is quite clear: there will be no special privileges. What their private sentimental relations may be is entirely their own matter.

Q: Have you looked into the large number of comments varying from indifference to hostility from non-Anglo-American countries about this Commonwealth business and do you propose to make some sort of diplomatic representation to those countries explaining the position of India in regard to this?

JN: Diplomatic representations are made to governments, not to the press of other countries. Governments are not moved because some newspapers have made some comments. To begin with, they do not normally address the press direct in the other country or through the other government. The question does not arise. But of course we are constantly in touch through our ambassadors and through other ambassadors with other governments and these matters are always discussed.

Q: For example, has our decision been explained to the Soviet foreign office about this Commonwealth business?

JN: I do not know about its being "explained". No doubt our representatives have discussed this matter with them from time to time, whenever it arose.

Q: Have we got a representative there in Moscow?

JN: Yes, we have an embassy there.

Q: Can you give any news about the Kashmir negotiations?

JN: Nothing very much. It seems to me, frankly speaking, that the press of Delhi and India generally knows much more about it than I do.

Q: Could you tell us what transpired between you and G.B. Shaw?

JN: A very pleasant and friendly conversation.

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Q: It lasted for two hours.

JN: Yes, we were there together for about an hour and a half.

Q: What transpired between Churchill and yourself?

JN: That was also a very friendly conversation.

Q: England being at the apex of the Commonwealth countries, if England becomes socialist, don't you think that it will be reflected in the economy of other Commonwealth countries?

JN: As a matter of fact among the Commonwealth countries today Australia and New Zealand have already got Labour Governments which are in varying degrees socialistically inclined. Even so is England. Presumably that will have some effect on others too.

Q: What about India? How is it inclined?

JN: You know all about it. Why ask me?

Q: What about your meeting with George Bernard Shaw?

JN: As a matter of fact my Secretary had some strange notion about it and he wanted to come with me and take down verbatim what happened. Fortunately I stopped him in time. I pushed him out.

Q: You invited Dr Malan to lunch. Was that a purely social affair or did you discuss the South African Indian question?

JN: No. I had naturally met Dr Malan in the course of the Conference for a minute or two. Later our Secretary General, Mr Bajpai, who had known him previously in South Africa, met him and discussed the situation generally with him. Before coming away I thought it would be desirable to meet him also. So I invited him to lunch and we had a talk about the Indian situation in South Africa. We did discuss the matter and all I can say is that we frankly told each other our respective viewpoints. I began by telling him that I did not expect, naturally, such a difficult and intricate matter could be solved over a lunch conversation. Anyhow I did feel that we should know each other and understand directly each other's points of view. We did, I believe, have a frank talk and there the matter ended.

Q: How is it that in spite of the presence of three or four socialistic governments in the Commonwealth the Indian Government is becoming more and more capitalistic?

JN: That question of course involves so many other questions and particularly one very interesting question: How is it that the Socialists in this country are becoming more and more reactionary?

Q: How did Mr Churchill behave towards you?

JN: He was friendly and cordial, if I may say so. When he asked me to lunch he said that he wanted me to come just to show his friendship and goodwill for India as it is today and as it is going to be in the future.

Q: Has it anything to do with Mr Churchill coming into power in future?

JN: I do not think that has anything to do with Mr Churchill coming into power or otherwise. So far as I understand that would be governed by other factors. Mr Churchill and the Conservative Party—I was assured by their principal leaders—had entirely accepted not only the present position but also the position of India becoming a republic.

Q: What was the reaction of George Bernard Shaw to the London decision?

JN: I just wish to say a few concluding remarks and to begin with I shall take Mr Shaw and end this conference.

As you know, he is a very big man. What is the difference between a big man and a small man? There are many differences. The big man sees issues in a big way, in their historical perspective; a small man gets tied up with the passions and prejudices of the past and the present. When I said just now—without meaning any ill will—that the Socialists are rather reactionary, perhaps I was not quite correct. What I meant really was that they are so tied up with the past that they just cannot see the present, much less the future. And that happens of course, to a large extent, to extreme nationalists also. They just cannot get rid of the environments they grew up in. The world may change, the problems of the world may change but they only think of those problems as they were a generation ago or years back. If one thing is obvious, it is this that vast changes have taken place in this world in the course of the last few years—during the War and after, as also previously of course. Vast changes have taken place in Asia and in India. Probably today the biggest thing that is happening in the world is this: the emergence of Asia; and it is quite impossible for you to judge this emergence with Asian eyes or in some hard and

fast way applying some simple slogan which you might have used ten or fifteen years ago. It is much too complicated a phenomenon that is happening. It began not today. Take China. It began in 1911. It is a continuing process, a continuous revolution and all kinds of things are happening, good as well as bad. It is so in the rest of Asia too—all kinds of new forces, communism and other movements. One is apt to isolate these things and take one thing and like it or dislike it, and not take a larger view. It is in that sense that I said that I find the Socialist Party—I name it for the moment but it applies to other groups also, Congress or others—is stuck in its past grooves of thought and is unable to come out completely, not being able to adjust itself. There is nothing more dangerous in a changing and dynamic world than not to change yourself, your mental habits or your grooves and adapt your line of thinking and policy to those changing conditions. I do not mean to say that you should have no anchorage, no standards, no principles. Not at all. If you do not have certain ways of judging current events, a certain philosophy in judging history and current events, you cannot understand them, although sometimes that philosophy may lead to great difficulties as it would not fit in with changing circumstances. One has to have some yardstick or measure or some philosophy to judge things. Have that by all means, but it must be a completely flexible philosophy which can be adapted to changing circumstances. We in India in the past, that is, in our long past, have shown an enormous degree of adaptability. We grew and then we became completely rigid and we consequently deteriorated and became stagnant as all rigid forms of thought and habit tend to become.

There is in India, as elsewhere, a current of thought which believes in rigidity, and attributes it to our ancient culture. Of course, our ancient culture was a magnificent thing. But this rigidity of thought has produced stagnation in India and has led to the cutting off of India from modern currents of thought. On the other hand, there are dynamic movements in India and it all depends as to which movement has greater strength and overcomes the other.

I would, therefore, ask you to consider the international situation today not in any rigid way, because it is not rigid. It is exceedingly easy for anyone of us to lay down an ideal line of conduct for other countries or our own country to follow. But even in your simple individual lives you cannot follow ideal lines of conduct, because your ideal line may come into conflict with your neighbour's. More so in the case of nations. Take, for instance, two great countries like America and Russia. In many respects they are apart; yet they exchange ambassadors; deal with each other, more closely at times, less closely at other times.

So, we have to get on with countries, whether we like them or dislike them. We try to fit them as best as we can in our larger policy, whatever it may be. We may succeed, or we may not. But failure is inevitable if we are rigid in our approach and think in terms of some ancient slogans because that has no application to reality. This rigid approach to problems on our part is not surprising, because we have come out of a stage in which we were continuously in opposition, and it is not

easy to open out our mind to this changing world and understand it, to adapt ourselves to a more constructive outlook. But any opposition, whatever may be its aims, must always think in terms of constructive work. Otherwise, it is not an effective opposition. Take, for instance, the food procurement policy of the Government. It is a vital problem of the day. Now, some people go about opposing the procurement policy. It is quite easy to go and tell the peasant: Do not part with your foodgrains at this price; charge a higher price. The very same people go to the worker, the industrial worker, and curse the Government for the high prices of foodgrains. While the peasant is interested in getting a high price for his foodgrains, the industrial worker is interested in getting food at a low price. That, I say, is not a constructive approach to the problem. It is an attempt to take advantage of a particular situation.

There is one small matter to which I should like to refer before I conclude. You will remember that about two months back the North West Frontier Premier¹³ came out with a statement of a certain conspiracy, which, he said, existed in the North West Frontier Province. He arrested a number of old Red Shirt leaders who had thus far escaped arrest, because most of them are under arrest. He talked of money flowing from India to the North West Frontier Province to assist a conspiracy to murder the Premier.¹⁴ He talked mysteriously of certain pandits and the rest. He did not mention the Government of India as such, nor did he mention any particular pandit. Obviously the average man, more especially in Pakistan, would only have thought that the Government of India or people connected with the Government of India were aiding and abetting a conspiracy in the Frontier Province with a view to murdering the Premier and creating trouble. You will remember that I made a statement about that in Parliament.¹⁵ The Pakistan Government protested against certain parts of my statement. We told the Pakistan Government that we would welcome any evidence in their possession and requested them to publish it. We said that either they should publish the evidence or they must withdraw their charge and apologise for it. We reminded them repeatedly. No answer was forthcoming. Two days ago you may have seen in the press the communique of the Frontier Government ordering the release of the six Red Shirts on the ground that there was not enough evidence to proceed against them. This is an extraordinary state of affairs. They make a big announcement of a conspiracy, dragging into the picture mysterious pandits, and after six months they quietly release the arrested persons. This is an instance to show how Pakistani officials generally behave.

13. Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan.

14. On 14 March 1949, six former Red Shirts of Hazara district, including Khan Abdul Qayum Swati, were arrested for their alleged complicity in a plot to murder the Frontier Premier and overthrow the Government.

15. For Nehru's statement in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) on 19 March 1949, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 10, pp. 259-261.

Obviously the whole thing was a stunt to achieve something. What that something was we need not go into; it may be in relation to Kashmir. That is a completely irresponsible way of doing things—trying to mislead the public for the moment in the hope that the public will forget. We have again addressed the Pakistan Government and demanded an apology for all this.

6. Continuance in the Commonwealth¹

Mr President, Sir, I have the honour to move the following motion:

Resolved that this Assembly do hereby ratify the declaration, agreed to by the Prime Minister of India, on the continued membership of India in the Commonwealth of Nations, as set out in the official statement issued at the conclusion of the Conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London on April 27, 1949.

All honourable Members have been supplied with copies of this Declaration and so I shall not read it over again. I shall merely point out very briefly some salient features of this Declaration. It is a short and simple document in four paragraphs. The first paragraph, it will be noticed, deals with the present position in law. It refers to the British Commonwealth of Nations and to the fact that the people in this Commonwealth owe a common allegiance to the Crown. That in law is the present position.

The next paragraph of this Declaration states that the Government of India have informed the governments of the other Commonwealth countries that India is soon going to be a sovereign independent republic; further that they desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations, accepting the King as a symbol of the free association, etc.

The third paragraph says that the other Commonwealth countries accept this and the fourth paragraph ends by saying that all these countries remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations. You will notice that while in the first paragraph that is referred to as the British Commonwealth of

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly, 16 May 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India Debates, Official Report*, Vol. VIII, 16 May to 16 June 1949, pp. 2-11.

Nations, in the subsequent paragraphs that is referred to only as the Commonwealth of Nations. Further you will notice that while in the first paragraph there is the question of allegiance to the Crown which exists at present, later of course this question does not arise because India becoming a republic goes outside the Crown area completely. There is reference, in connection with the Commonwealth, to the King as the symbol of that association. Observe that the reference is to the King and not to the Crown. It is a small matter but it has certain small significance. But the point is this, that so far as the Republic of India is concerned, her Constitution and her working are concerned, she has nothing to do with any external authority, with any king, and none of her subjects owe any allegiance to the King or any other external authority. That Republic may however agree to associate itself with certain other countries that happen to be monarchies or whatever they choose to be. This Declaration therefore states that this new Republic of India, completely sovereign and owing no allegiance to the King, as the other Commonwealth countries do owe, will nevertheless be a full member of this Commonwealth and it agrees that as a symbol of this free partnership, or association rather, the King will be recognised as such.

Now, I am placing this Declaration before this honourable House for their approval. Beyond this approval, there is no question of any law being framed in accordance with it. There is no law beyond the Commonwealth. It has not even the formality which normally accompanies treaties. It is an agreement by free will, to be terminated by free will. Therefore there will be no further legislation or law if this House approves of this. In this particular Declaration nothing very much is said about the position of the King except that he will be a symbol, but it has been made perfectly clear—it was made perfectly clear—that the King has no functions at all. He has a certain status. The Commonwealth itself, as such, is nobody, if I may say so; it has no organisation to function and the King also can have no function.

Now, some consequences flow from this. Apart from certain friendly approaches to each other, apart from a desire to cooperate, which will always be conditioned by each party deciding on the measure of cooperation and following its own policy, there is no obligation. There is hardly any obligation in the nature of commitments that flow. But an attempt has been made to produce something which is entirely novel, and I can very well understand lawyers, on the one hand, feeling somewhat uncomfortable at a thing for which they can find no precedent or parallel. There may also be others feeling that behind this there might be something which they cannot quite understand, something risky, something dangerous, because the thing is so simple on the face of it. That kind of difficulty may arise in people's minds. What I have stated elsewhere I should like to repeat that there is absolutely nothing behind this except what is placed before this House.

One or two matters I may clear up which are not mentioned in this Declaration. One of these, as I have said, is that the King has no functions at all. This was

cleared up in the course of our proceedings; it has no doubt been recorded in minutes of the Conference in London. Another point was that one of the objects of this kind of Commonwealth association is how to create a status which is something between being completely foreign and being of one nationality. Obviously the Commonwealth countries belong to different nations. There are different nationalities. Normally either you have a common nationality or you are foreign. There is no intermediate stage. Up till now, in this Commonwealth, or the British Commonwealth of Nations there was a binding link, which was allegiance to the King. With that link, therefore, in a sense, there was common nationality in a broad way. That snaps, that ends when we become a republic, and if we should desire to give a certain preference or a certain privilege to any one of these countries, we would normally be precluded from doing so because of what is called the most-favoured-nation clause that every country would be as much foreign as any other country. Now, we want to take away that foreignness, keeping in our own hands what, if any, privileges or preferences we can give to another country. That is a matter entirely for two countries to decide by treaty or arrangement, so that we create a new state of affairs—or we try to create it—that the other countries, although in a sense foreign, are nevertheless not completely foreign. I do not quite know how we shall proceed to deal with this matter at a later stage. That is for the House to decide—that is to say, to take the right, only the right, to deal with Commonwealth countries, should we so choose, in regard to certain preferences or privileges. What they are to be, all that, of course, we shall in each case be the judge ourselves. Apart from these facts there has nothing been decided in secret or otherwise which has not been put before the public.

The House will remember that there was some talk at one stage of a Commonwealth citizenship. Now it was difficult to understand what the contents of a Commonwealth citizenship might be, except that it meant that they were not completely foreign to one another. That un-foreignness remains, but I think it is as well that we left off talking about something vague, which could not be surely defined. But the other fact remains, as I have just stated: the fact that we should take the right to ourselves, if we so chose to exercise it at any time, to enter into treaties or arrangements with Commonwealth countries assuring certain mutual privileges and preferences.

I have briefly placed before this House this document. It is a simple document and yet the House is fully aware that it is a highly important document or rather what it contains is of great and historical significance. I went some weeks ago as the representative of India to this Conference. I had consulted my colleagues here of course previously, because it was a great responsibility and no man is big enough to shoulder that responsibility by himself when the future of India is at stake. During the past many months we had often consulted each other, consulted great and representative organizations, consulted many Members of this House. Nevertheless when I went, I carried this great responsibility and I felt the burden

of it. I had able colleagues to advise me, but I was the sole representative of India and in a sense the future of India for the moment was in my keeping. I was alone in that sense and yet not quite alone because, as I travelled through the air and as I sat there at that Conference table, the ghosts of many yesterdays of my life surrounded me and brought up picture after picture before me, sentinels and guardians keeping watch over me, telling me perhaps not to trip and not to forget them. I remembered, as many honourable Members might remember, that day nineteen years ago when we took a pledge on the bank of the river Ravi, at the midnight hour, and I remembered the 26th of January the first time and that oft-repeated pledge year after year in spite of difficulty and obstruction, and, finally, I remembered that day when, standing at this very place, I placed a resolution before this House. That was one of the earliest resolutions placed before this honourable House, a resolution that is known as the Objectives Resolution.² Two years and five months have elapsed since that happened. In that resolution we defined more or less the type of free government or republic that we were going to have. Later, in another place and on a famous occasion, this subject also came up—that was at the Jaipur Session of the Congress—because not only my mind, but many minds were struggling with this problem, trying to find a way out that was in keeping with the honour and dignity and independence of India, and yet also in keeping with the changing world and with the facts as they were, something that would advance the cause of India, would help us, something that would advance the cause of peace in the world, and yet something which would be strictly and absolutely true to every single pledge that we have taken. It was clear to me that whatever the advantage might be of any association with the Commonwealth or with any other group, no single advantage, however great, could be purchased by a single iota of our pledges being given up, because no country can make progress by playing fast and loose with the principles which it has declared. So, during these months we had thought and we had discussed amongst ourselves and I carried all this advice with me. May I read to you, perhaps just to refresh your minds, the resolution passed at the Jaipur Session of the Congress? It might be of interest to you and I would beg of you to consider the very wording of this resolution:

In view of the attainment of complete independence and the establishment of the Republic of India which will symbolise with Independence and give to India the status among the nations of the world that is her rightful due, her present association with the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth of Nations will necessarily have to change. India, however, desires to maintain all such links with other countries as do not come in the way of her freedom

2. Nehru moved this resolution in the Constituent Assembly on 13 December 1946. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 1, pp. 240-251.

of action and independence and the Congress would welcome her free association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth for their common weal and the promotion of world peace.³

You will observe that the last few lines of this resolution are almost identical with the lines of the Declaration of London.⁴

I went there guided and controlled by all our past pledges, ultimately guided and controlled by the resolution of this honourable House, by the Objectives Resolution, and all that has subsequently happened; also by the mandate given to me by the All India Congress Committee in that resolution; and I stand before you to say with all humility that I have fulfilled that mandate to the letter. All of us have been during these past many years through the valley of the shadow; we have passed our lives in opposition, in struggle, and sometimes in failure and sometimes success, and most of us are haunted by those dreams and visions of old days and those hopes that filled us and the frustrations that often followed those hopes; yet we have seen that even out of that prickly thorn of frustration and despair, we have been able to pick out the rose of fulfilment.

Let us not be led away by considering the situation in terms of events which are no longer here. You will see in the resolution of the Congress that I have read out; it says that necessarily because India becomes a republic, the association of India with the Commonwealth must change, of course. Further it says that free association may continue subject only to our complete freedom being assured. Now, that is exactly what has been tried to be done in this Declaration of London. I ask you or any honourable Member to point out in what way the freedom, the independence, of India has been limited in the slightest. I do not think it has been. In fact, the greatest stress has been laid not only on the independence of India but on the independence of each individual nation in the Commonwealth.

I am asked often: how can you join a Commonwealth in which there is racial discrimination, in which there are other things happening to which we object? That, I think, is a fair question and it is a matter which necessarily must cause us some trouble in our thinking. Nevertheless it is a question which does not really arise. That is to say, when we have entered into an alliance with a nation or a group of nations, it does not mean that we accept their other policies, etc. It does not mean that we commit ourselves in any way to something that they may do. In fact, this House knows that we are carrying on at the present moment a struggle,

3. For full text of this resolution drafted by Nehru and passed on 19 December 1948, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 8, pp. 341-342.
4. The London Declaration of 27 April 1949 stated: "Accordingly the U.K., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon hereby declare that they remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations, freely cooperating in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress."

or our countrymen are carrying on a struggle, in regard to racial discrimination in various parts of the world.

This House knows that in the last few years one of the major questions before the United Nations, at the instance of India, has been the position of Indians in South Africa. May I, if the House will permit me, for a moment refer to an event which took place yesterday, that is, the passing of the resolution at the General Assembly of the United Nations,⁵ and express my appreciation and my Government's appreciation of the way our delegation has functioned in this matter and our appreciation of all those nations of the United Nations, almost all, in fact, all barring South Africa, which finally supported this attitude of India? One of the pillars of our foreign policy, repeatedly stated, is to fight against racial discrimination, is to fight for the freedom of suppressed nationalities. Are we compromising on that issue by remaining in the Commonwealth? We have been fighting on the South African Indian issue and on other issues even though we have been thus far a dominion of the Commonwealth. It was a dangerous thing for us to bring that matter within the purview of the Commonwealth. Because, then, that very thing to which you and I object might have taken place. That is, the Commonwealth might have been considered as some kind of a superior body which sometimes acts as a tribunal or judges, or in a sense, supervises the activities of its member nations. That certainly would have meant a diminution in our independence and sovereignty, if we had once accepted that principle. Therefore we were not prepared and we are not prepared to treat the Commonwealth as such or even to bring disputes between member nations of the Commonwealth before the Commonwealth body. We may, of course, in a friendly way discuss this matter; that is a different matter. We are anxious to maintain the position of our countrymen in other countries in the Commonwealth. So far as we are concerned, we could not bring their domestic policies in dispute there; nor can we say in regard to any country that we are not going to associate ourselves with that country because we disapprove of certain policies of that country.

I am afraid if we adopted that attitude, then there would be hardly any association for us with any country, because we have disapproved of something or other that that country does. Sometimes it so happens that the difference is so great that you cut off relations with that country or there is a big conflict. Some years ago, the United Nations General Assembly decided to recommend to its member States to withdraw diplomatic representatives from Spain because Spain was supposed

5. On 14 May, the General Assembly passed a resolution calling upon India, Pakistan and South Africa to settle the question of Indians settled in South Africa through mutual discussions.

to be a fascist country.⁶ I am not going into the merits of the question. Sometimes the question comes up in that way. The question has come up again and they have reversed that decision and left it to each member State to do as it likes.⁷ If you proceed in this way, take any great country or a small country. You do not agree with everything that the Soviet Union does; therefore, why should we have representation there or why should we have a treaty of alliance in regard to commercial or trade matters with them? You may not agree with some policies of the United States of America; therefore, you cannot have a treaty with them. That is not the way nations carry on their foreign work or any work. The first thing to realise, I think, in this world is that there are different ways of thinking, different ways of living and different approaches to life in different parts of the world. Most of our troubles arise by one country imposing its will and its way of living on other countries. It is true that each country cannot live in isolation, because the world as constituted today is progressively becoming an organic whole. If one country, living in isolation, does something which is dangerous to the other countries, the other countries have to intervene. To give a rather obvious example, if one country allows itself to become the breeding ground of all kinds of dangerous diseases, the world will have to come in and clear it up because it cannot afford to allow this disease to spread all over the world. The only safe principle to follow is that subject to certain limitations, each country should be allowed to live its own life in its own way.

There are at present in the world several ideologies and major conflicts flowing from these ideologies. What is right or what is wrong, we can consider at a later stage, or maybe something else is right. Either you want a major conflict, a great war which might result in the victory for this nation or that, or else you allow them to live at peace in their respective territories and to carry on their way of thinking, their way of life, their structure of State, etc., allowing the facts to prove which is right ultimately. I have no doubt at all that ultimately it will be the system that delivers the goods—the goods being the advancement and the betterment of the human race or the people of the individual countries—that will survive and no amount of theorising and no amount of warfare can make the system that does not deliver the goods survive. I refer to this because of the argument that was raised

6. The General Assembly recommended on 12 December 1946 that Spain be barred from membership in the specialized agencies of the U.N. and all member States immediately recall their representatives from Madrid. The Security Council was asked to consider further measures required if a democratic government was not established in Spain within a reasonable period of time.
7. A resolution calling for restoration of full freedom of action to member States as regards their diplomatic relations with Spain was passed in the First Committee on 7 May 1949, but it fell through in the General Assembly plenary meeting on 16 May 1949, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority. The General Assembly finally revoked its earlier recommendations regarding Spain on 4 November 1950.

that India cannot join the Commonwealth because it disapproves of certain policies of certain Commonwealth nations. I think we should keep these two matters completely apart.

We join the Commonwealth obviously because we think it is beneficial to us and to certain causes in the world that we wish to advance. The other countries of the Commonwealth want us to remain there because they think it is beneficial to them. It is mutually understood that it is to the advantage of the nations in the Commonwealth and therefore they join. At the same time, it is made perfectly clear that each country is completely free to go its own way; it may be that they may go, sometimes go so far as to break away from the Commonwealth. In the world today where there are so many disruptive forces at work, where we are often at the verge of war, I think it is not a safe thing to encourage to break up any association that one has. Break up the evil parts of this, break up anything that may come in the way of your growth, because nobody dare agree to anything which comes in the way of a nation's growth. Otherwise, apart from breaking the evil parts of the association, it is better to keep a cooperative association going which may do good in this world rather than break it.

Now this Declaration that is placed before you is not a new move and yet it is a complete reorientation of something that has existed in an entirely different way. Suppose we had been cut off from England completely and we had then desired to join the Commonwealth of Nations, it would have been a new move. Suppose a new group of nations wants us to join them and we join them in this way, that would have been a new move from which various consequences would have flown. In the present instance what is happening is that a certain association has been existing for a considerable time past. A very great change came in the way of that association about a year and eight or nine months ago, from August 15, 1947. Now another major change is contemplated. Gradually the conception is changing. Yet that certain link remains in a different form. Now politically we are completely independent. Economically we are as independent as independent nations can be. Nobody can be hundred per cent independent in the sense of absolute lack of interdependence, but nevertheless India has to depend on the rest of the world for her trade, for her commerce and for many supplies that she needs today for her food, unfortunately, and so many other things. We cannot be absolutely cut off from the world. Now the House knows that inevitably, during the past century and more, all kinds of contacts have arisen between England and this country. Many of them were bad, very bad, and we have struggled throughout our lives to put an end to them. Many of them were not so bad, many of them may be good; and many of them, good or bad, whatever they may be, are there. Here I am, the patent example of these contacts, speaking in this honourable House in the English language. No doubt we are going to change that language for our use but the fact remains that I am doing so and the fact remains that most other Members who will speak will also do so. The fact remains that we are functioning here under certain rules and

regulations for which the model has been the British Constitution. Those laws existing today have been largely forged by them. Therefore we have developed these things inevitably. Gradually, laws which are good we will keep and those that are bad we will throw away. Any marked change in this without something to follow creates a hiatus which may be harmful. Largely our educational apparatus has been influenced by these considerations and we have grown up naturally as something rather like the British Army. I am placing before the House certain entirely practical considerations. If we break away completely, the result is that without making sufficient provision for carrying on in a different way we have a gap period. Of course if we have to pay a price, we may choose to do so. If we do not want to pay the price, we should not pay it and face the consequences.

But in the present instance we have to consider not only these minor gains, which I have mentioned to you, to us and to others, but, if I may say so, the larger approach to world problems. I felt as I was conferring there in London with the representatives of other governments that I had necessarily to stick completely and absolutely to the sovereignty and independence of the Indian Republic. I could not possibly compromise on any allegiance to any foreign authority. I did that. I also felt that in the state of the world today, and in the state of India and Asia, it would be a good thing if we approached this question in a friendly spirit there which would solve the problems in Asia and elsewhere. I am afraid I am a bad bargainer. I am not used to the ways of the market-place. I hope I am a good fighter and I hope I am a good friend. I am not anything in between and so when you have to bargain hard for anything, do not send me. When you want to fight, I hope I shall fight and then when you are decided about a certain thing, then you must hold to it and hold to it to the death. But about other minor things I think it is far better to gain the goodwill of the other party. It is far more precious to come to a decision in friendship and goodwill than to gain a word here and there at the cost of ill will. So I approached this problem and may I say how I felt about others. I would like to pay a tribute to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and to others also there because they approached this in that spirit also, not so much to get some debating point or a change of a word here and there in this Declaration. It was possible that if I had tried my hardest I might have got a word here and there changed because there was nothing more for us to get out of that Declaration. I preferred not to do so because I preferred creating an impression, and I hope a right impression, that the approach of India to these and the other problems of the world was not a narrow-minded approach. It was an approach based on faith and confidence in her own strength and in her own future and therefore it was not afraid of any country coming in the way of that faith, it was not afraid of any word or phrase in any document. But it was based essentially on this that if you approach another country in a friendly way, with goodwill and generosity, you will be paid back in the same coin and probably the payment will be in even larger measure. I am quite convinced that in treatment of nations of one another, as in

the case of individuals, only out of goodwill will you get goodwill and no amount of intrigues and cleverness will get you good results out of evil ways. Therefore, I thought that that was an occasion not only to impress England but others also, in fact to some extent the world, because this matter that was being discussed at No. 10 Downing Street in London was something that drew the attention of the entire world. It drew the attention of the world, partly because India is a very important country, potentially so, and actually so too. And the world was interested to see how this very complicated and difficult problem, which appeared insoluble, could be solved. It could not be solved if we had left it to eminent lawyers. Lawyers have their use in life; but they should not be spread out everywhere. It could not have been solved by these extreme, narrow-minded nationalists who cannot see to the right or to the left, but live in a narrow sphere of their own, and therefore forget that the world is going ahead. It could not be solved by people who live in the past and cannot realise that the present is different from the past and that the future is going to be still more different. It could not be solved by any person who lacked faith in India and in India's destiny.

I wanted the world to see that India does not lack faith in herself, and that India is prepared to cooperate even with those with whom she had been fighting in the past, provided the basis of cooperation today is honourable, that it is a free basis, a basis which would lead to the good not only of ourselves, but of the world also. That is to say, we would not deny that cooperation simply because in the past we have had a fight, and thus carry on the trail of our past karma along with us. We have to wash out the past with all its evil. I wanted, if I may say so in all humility, to help in letting the world look at things in a slightly different perspective, or rather try to see how vital questions can be approached and dealt with. We have seen too often in the arguments that go on in the assemblies of the world, this bitter approach, this crushing of each other, this desire not, in the least, to understand the other, but deliberately to misunderstand the other, and to make clever points about it. Now, it may be a satisfying performance for any of us, on occasions, to make clever points and be applauded by our people or by some other people. But in the state of the world today, it is a poor thing for any responsible person to do, when we live on the verge of catastrophic wars, when national passions are roused, and when even a casually spoken word might make all the difference.

Some people have thought that by our joining or continuing to remain in the Commonwealth of Nations we are drifting away from our neighbours in Asia, or that it has become more difficult for us to cooperate with other countries, great countries in the world. But I think it is easier for us to develop closer relations with other countries while we are in the Commonwealth than it might have been otherwise. That is rather a peculiar thing to say. Nevertheless I say it, and I have given a great deal of thought to this matter. The Commonwealth does not come in the way of our cooperation and friendship with other countries. Ultimately we shall have to decide, and ultimately the decision will depend on our own strength.

If we are completely dissociated from the Commonwealth, for the moment we are completely isolated. We cannot remain completely isolated, and so inevitably, by stress of circumstances, we have to incline in some direction or other. But that inclination in some direction or other will necessarily be a give and take affair. It may be in the nature of alliances: you give something yourself and get something in return. In other words, it may involve commitments far more than at present. There are no commitments today. In that sense, I say we are freer today to come to friendly understandings with other countries and to play the part, if you like, of a bridge for mutual understanding between other countries. I do not wish to place this too high; nevertheless, it is no good placing it too low either. I should like you to look round at the world today, and look more especially during the last two years or so, at the relative position of India and the rest of the world. I think you will find that during this period of two years or even slightly less, India has gone up in the scale of nations in its influence and in its prestige. It is a little difficult for me to tell you exactly what India has done or has not done. It would be absurd for anyone to expect that India can become the crusader for all causes in the world and bring forth results. Even in cases that have borne fruit, it is not a thing to be proclaimed from the housetops. But something which does not require any proclamation is the fact of India's present prestige and influence in world affairs. Considering that she came on the scene as an independent nation only a year and a half or a little more ago, it is astonishing the part that India has played today.

One thing I should like to say, and it is this. Obviously a Declaration of this type, or the resolution that I have placed before the House, is not capable of amendment. It is either accepted or rejected. I am surprised to see that some honourable Members have sent notices of amendments. Any treaty with any foreign power can be accepted or rejected. It is a joint Declaration of eight, or is it nine, countries, and it cannot be amended in this House or in any House. It can be accepted or rejected. I would, therefore, beg of you to consider this business in all its aspects. First of all, make sure that it is in conformity with our old pledges, that it does violence to none. If it is proved to me that it does violence to any pledge that we have undertaken, that it limits India's freedom in any way, then I certainly shall be no party to it. Secondly, you should see whether it does good to ourselves and to the rest of the world. I think there can be little doubt that it does us good, that this continuing association at the present moment is beneficial for us, and it is beneficial, in the larger sense, to certain world causes that we represent. And lastly, if I may put it in a negative way, not to have had this agreement would certainly have been detrimental to those world causes as well as to ourselves.

And finally, about the value I should like this House to attach to this Declaration and to the whole business of those talks resulting in this Declaration. It is a method, a desirable method, and a method which brings a touch of healing with it. In this world which is today sick and which has not recovered from so many wounds during the last decade or more, it is necessary that we touch upon the world

problems, not with passion and prejudice and with too much repetition of what has ceased to be, but in a friendly way and with a touch of healing, and I think the chief value of this Declaration and of what preceded it was that it did bring a touch of healing in our relations with certain countries. We are in no way subordinate to them, and they are in no way subordinate to us. We shall go our way and they shall go their way. But our ways, unless something happens, will be friendly ways; at any rate, attempts will be made to understand each other, to be friends with each other and to cooperate with each other. And the fact that we have begun this new type of association with a touch of healing will be good for us, good for them, and, I think, good for the world.

Sir, I should like to have your ruling regarding international treaties and whether such an amendment⁸ would be in order when a treaty of this type by the Government of the day has been concluded. I do not know. A treaty can be accepted or rejected; amendments cannot be made to a treaty.⁹

8. An amendment moved by Shibban Lal Saksena suggested that in view of some Commonwealth countries like South Africa and Australia following racist and imperialist policies, and as the London agreement was in contravention of the Congress policy of complete independence, ratification of the agreement be deferred until the new Parliament was elected.
9. Rajendra Prasad, who was in the chair, replied, "What the effect of that on the treaty will be I do not know but I think, under the rules, the amendment is in order and therefore I have allowed it. Of course it is for the House to reject it if it thinks it should not be passed."

7. The Commonwealth Decision¹

Mr President, Sir, we have had a fairly full debate since yesterday and many honourable Members have spoken in approval of this motion.² In fact, if I may say so, some of them have even gone a little further than I might perhaps have gone. They have drawn some consequences and pointed out some implications

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly on the conclusion of debate on the motion seeking ratification of the decision to remain in the Commonwealth, 17 May 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India Debates, Official Report*, Vol. VIII, 16 May to 16 June 1949, pp. 65-71.
2. Those who spoke in support included M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Thakur Das Bhargava, Tajamul Husain, H.N. Kunzru, K.M. Munshi, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and Khandubhai Desai.

which, for my part, I would not have approved or accepted.³ However, it is open to all of us and to each one of us to see the future in a particular way.

So far as this resolution of mine and the Declaration of London are concerned, what we have got to see are these: number one, that it fulfils, or at any rate it does not go against any pledges of ours. That is to say, that it takes India forward, or does not come in the way of India going forward to her natural destination of a sovereign independent republic. Secondly, that it helps India, or does not hinder India, in making rapid progress in the other domains in the course of the next few years. We have, in a sense, solved the political problem, but the political problem is intimately connected with the economic condition of the country. We are being faced by many economic difficulties. They are our domestic concern, no doubt, but obviously the world can help or hinder any policy that we might adopt. Now, does this proposal which is contained in this Declaration help our speedy progress economically and otherwise or not? That is another test. I am prepared to admit that even without external help, we will go ahead. But obviously it will be a far more difficult task and it will take a much longer time. It is not an easy matter to do that.

The third test is whether in the world, as it is today, it helps in the promotion of peace and the avoidance of war. Some people talk about encouraging this particular group or that, this bloc or that. We are all, I am afraid, in the habit of considering ourselves or our friends as angels and others the reverse of angels. We are all apt to think that we stand for the forces of progress and democracy and others do not. I must confess that in spite of my own pride in India and her people, I have grown more humble about talking in terms of our being in the vanguard of progress or democracy.

In the last two or three years we have passed through difficult times, humiliating times. We have lived through them. That has been something in our favour. We have survived them. But I hope we have learned our lesson from them. For my part I am a little chary now of condemning this or that person or this or that nation, because the hands of no individual or nation are clean in such matters. And there is far too much of the habit of condemning other nations as being the wrongdoers or the war-mongers, and yet doing exactly the same thing oneself.

If one looks round the world—of course one favours certain policies—one is against some things and thinks that those are dangerous and might lead to war,

3. Supporting the motion, Govinddas hoped that India would assume the leadership of the Commonwealth at some future date "by virtue of the balance of power shifting in our favour on account of our philosophy, our approach to life, our manpower and... natural resources." Begum Aizaz Rasul believed that opposition to communism was a common factor between India and other Commonwealth countries. Frank Anthony felt that a reactionary section of British public opinion would have seized on India's secession to stir up anti-Indian sentiment leading to irrevocable estrangement of India from Britain and America.

but others are not. But the most amazing thing that strikes me is this: if you look back during the last thirty years or more which have comprised two Wars and the period between these Wars, you will find the same cries, changing slightly with the changed situation of course, but, nevertheless, the same cries, the same approaches, the same fears and suspicions and the same arming on all sides and war coming. The same talk of this being the last war, the fight for democracy and all the rest of it is heard on every side. And then the war ends, but the same conflicts continue and again the same preparation for war. Then another war comes. Now that is a very extraordinary thing, because I am convinced that hardly anybody in this wide world wants war, barring a few persons or groups who make profit by war. Nobody and no country wants war. As war becomes more and more terrible they want it still less. Yet some past evil or karma or some destiny goes on pushing people in a particular direction, towards the abyss, and they go through the same arguments and they perform the same gestures like automatons.

Now, are we fated to do that? I do not know, but anyhow I want to fight against that tendency of talking about war and preparation for war. Obviously no country and no government of any country dare allow its country to be unprepared for contingencies. We have to prepare ourselves unfortunately, unless we are brave enough to follow the policy that Mahatmaji laid down. If we are brave enough, well and good; we take the chance. I do believe that if we are brave enough that policy would be the right policy. But it is not so much a question of my being brave or your being brave, but of the country being brave enough to follow and understand that policy. I do not think we have been brought up to that level of understanding and behaviour. Indeed when we talk about that great level, I should say that in the last year and a half we have sunk to the lowest depths of behaviour in this country. So let us not take the name of the Mahatma in vain in this country. Anyhow we cannot, no government can, say that it stands for peace and do nothing at all. We have to take precautions and prepare ourselves to the best of our ability. We cannot blame any other government which does that, because that is an inevitable precaution that one has to take. But apart from that, it seems to me that some governments or many governments, go much further. They talk all the time of war. They blame the other party all the time. They try to make out that the other party is completely wrong or is a war-monger and so on and so forth. In talking of peace and our love of peace we or they create the conditions that in the past have invariably led to war. In fact they create the very conditions which lead to war. The conditions that ultimately generally lead to war are economic conflicts and this and that. But I do not think today it is economic conflict or even political conflict that is going to lead to war, but rather the overwhelming fear, the fear that the other party will certainly overwhelm one, the fear that the other party is increasing its strength gradually and would become so strong as to be unassailable and so each party goes on arming and arming with the deadliest weapons. I am sorry I have drifted off in this direction.

How are we to meet this major evil of the day? Some people say, "Join up with this group which stands for peace," while others say, "Join up with the other group," which, according to them, stands for some other kind of peace or progress. But I am quite convinced in my own mind that by joining up in this way, I do not help the cause of peace. That, in fact, only intensifies the atmosphere of fear. Then what am I to do? I do not believe in sitting inactively or practising the policy of escapism. You cannot escape. You have to face the problem and try to beat it and overcome it. Therefore the people who think that our policy is a kind of passive negation or is an inane policy, they are mistaken. That has not been ever my idea on this subject. I think it is and it ought to be our policy—a positive policy, a definite policy—to strive to overcome the general trend towards war in people's minds.

I know that in this huge problem before the world India may not be a strong enough factor. She may be too feeble a factor to change it or alter it. That may be so. I cannot claim any necessary results. But nevertheless I say that the only policy that India should pursue in this matter is a positive, definite policy of avoiding this drift to war by other countries also and of avoiding this atmosphere becoming so charged with fear and suspicion, etc., and of not proclaiming this country or that, even though they may claim to make the world rational, but rather laying stress on those qualities of those countries which are good, which are acceptable, and drawing out the best from them and thereby, in so far as it may be possible, to work to lessen the tensions and work for peace. Whether we succeed or not is another thing. But it is in our hands now to work with might and main in the direction we consider right, not because we are afraid or fear has overwhelmed us. We have gone through many frightful things and I do not think anything is going to happen in India or the world that is going to frighten us any more. Nevertheless we do not want this world to suffer or go through another world disaster from which you and I cannot escape and our country cannot escape. No policy can make us escape from that. Even if war does not spread to this country, even so if the war comes from abroad it will engulf the world and India. We have to face this problem.

This is more a psychological problem than a practical one, although it has practical applications. I think that in a sense India is partly suited to do it; partly suited because in spite of our being feeble and rather unworthy followers of Gandhiji, nevertheless we have imbibed to some small extent what he told us. Secondly, in these world conflicts you will see there is a succession of one action following another, inevitably one leading to another and so the chain of evils spreads; war comes and the evils that follow wars come after that and they themselves lead to another war and that chain of events goes on and each country is caught within this cycle of karma or evil or whatever you call it. Now, so far these evils have brought about wars in the West because in a sense these evils were concentrated in the Western powers. I do not by any means say that the Eastern powers are virtuous. So far the West or Europe has been the centre of political activity, and

has dominated the politics of the world. Therefore their disputes and their quarrels and their wars have dominated the world.

Now, fortunately we in India are not inheritors of these hatreds of Europe. We may like a person or dislike something or an idea, but we have not got that past inheritance on our backs. Therefore it may be slightly easier for us in facing these problems, whether in international assemblies or elsewhere, to deal with them not only objectively and dispassionately but also with the goodwill of others who may not suspect us of any fund of ill will derived from the past. It may be that a country can only function effectively if it has a certain strength behind it. I am not for the moment thinking of material or war strength—that of course counts—but the general strength behind it. A feeble country which cannot look after itself, how is it to look after the world and others? All these considerations I should like this House to have before it and then to decide on this relatively minor question, which I have placed before the House, because I had all those considerations and I felt first of all that it was my duty to see that Indian freedom and independence was in no way touched.

It was obvious that the Republic that we have decided on will come into existence. I think we have achieved that. We would have achieved that, of course, in any event, but we have achieved that with the goodwill of many others. That, I think, is some additional achievement. To achieve it with the goodwill of those who perhaps are hit by it is some achievement. It shows that the manner of doing things—the manner which does not leave any trace of hatred or ill will behind it, starts a fund of goodwill—is important. Goodwill is always precious from any quarter. Therefore, I had a feeling when I was considering this matter in London and later, in a small measure perhaps, I had done something that would have met with the approval of Gandhiji. The manner of it I am thinking of, more than the thing itself. I thought that this in itself would raise a fund of goodwill in this world—goodwill which in a smaller sense is to our advantage certainly, and to the advantage of England, but also in a larger sense to the advantage of the world in these psychological conflicts which people try to resolve by blaming each other, by cursing each other and saying that the others are to blame. Maybe somebody is to blame; maybe some politicians or big men are to blame; but nobody can blame those millions of men who will die in these catastrophic wars. In every country the vast masses of human beings do not want wars. They are frightened of wars. Sometimes this very fright is exploited to revive wars because it can always be said that the other party is coming to attack you.

Therefore I want this House to consider not only that we have achieved something politically—that we would have achieved in any event, nobody would have been able to prevent us; but what has a certain relevancy and importance is that we have achieved it in a way that helps us and helps others in a way which does not leave evil consequences behind when we think that we have profited at somebody else's expense and that somebody thinks of that always and wants to

take revenge later on. That is the way and if the world functions in that way, problems will be solved far more easily and wars and the consequences of wars will perhaps be fewer. They would be no more. It is easy to talk about the faults of the British or of the imperialism and the colonialism of other countries. Perfectly true. You can make out a list of the good qualities and the bad qualities of every nation today, including certainly India. Even if you made that list, the question still remains how anyone is going to draw the good from the other parties and yourself and to lay the foundations for good in the future.

I have come to the conclusion that it does not help us very much either on the government plane or on the national plane to lay stress on the evil in the other party. We must not ignore it; we have to fight it occasionally. We should be prepared for that, but with all that, I do not think this business of maintaining our own virtues and blaming the other party is going to help us in understanding our real problem. It no doubt gives an inner satisfaction that we are virtuous while others are sinners. I am talking in religious phraseology which does not suit me, but the fact is that I do wish to bring this slightly moral aspect of this question before this honourable House. I would not dare to do any injury to the cause of India and then justify it on some high moral ground. No government can do that. But if you can do a profitable business and at the same time it is good on moral grounds, then obviously it is worthy of our understanding and appreciation. I do submit that what we have done in no way, negatively speaking, injures us or can injure us. Positively, we have achieved politically what we wanted to achieve and we are likely to progress, to have more opportunities of progress, in this way than we would otherwise have in the next few years.

Finally, in the world context, it is something that encourages and helps peace; to what extent I do not know. And lastly, of course, it is a thing which in no way binds this country down to any country. It is open to this House or Parliament at any time to break this link, if they so choose. Not that I want that link broken. But I am merely pointing out that we have not bound the future down in the slightest. The future is as free as air and this country can go any way it chooses. If it finds this way is a good way, it will stick to it; if not, it will go some other way and we have not bound it down. I do submit that this resolution that I have placed before this House embodying approval of the Declaration, the decision at the Conference in London, is a motion which deserves the support and approval of this House, not merely, if I may say so, a passive approval and support, but the active appreciation of all that lies behind it and all that it may mean for the future of India that is gradually unrolling before our very eyes. Indeed all of us have hitched our wagons to the star of India long ago. Our future, our individual future, depends on the future of India; and we have thought and dreamt of the future for a long time. Now we have arrived at a stage when we have to mould by our decisions and activities this future at every step. It is no longer good enough for us to talk of that future in terms merely of resolutions, merely in terms of denunciations of

others and criticism of others; it is we who have to make it for good or ill. Sometimes some of us are too fond of thinking of that future only in negative terms of denouncing others. Some Members of this House who have opposed this motion⁴ and some others who are not in this House, who have opposed this motion, I have felt, have been totally unable to come out of that cage of the past in which we all of us have lived, even though the door was open for them to come mentally out. They have reminded us and some of our friends have been good enough to quote my speeches which I delivered fifteen and twenty years ago.⁵ Well, if they attach so much value to my speeches, they might listen to my present speech a little more carefully. The world has changed. Evil still remains evil, and good is good; I do not mean to say that it is not; and I think imperialism is an evil thing, and wherever it remains, it has to be rooted out; and colonialism is an evil thing and wherever it remains, it has to be rooted out; and racialism is an evil and has to be fought. All that is true. Nevertheless the world has changed; England has changed; Europe has changed; India has changed; everything has changed and is changing; and look at it now. Look at Europe which for the last three hundred years has a period of magnificent achievement in the arts and sciences and it has built up a new civilization all over the world. It is really a magnificent period of which Europe or some countries of Europe can be greatly proud, but Europe also during those three hundred years or more has gradually spread out its domination over Asia and Africa, has been an imperialist power and exploited the rest of the world and in a sense dominated the political scene of the world. Well, Europe has still, I believe, a great many fine qualities and those people there who have fine qualities will make good, but Europe can no longer be the centre of the world, politically speaking, or exercise that influence over other parts of the world which it has done in the past. From that point of view, Europe belongs to the past and the centre of world history, of political and other activities, shifts elsewhere. I do not mean to say that any other continent becomes a dominating force, dominates the rest—not in that way. However, we are looking at it in an entirely changed scene. If you talk of British imperialism and the rest of it, I would say that there is no capacity for imperialism even if the will was there; it cannot be done. The French are, imperialistically, in parts of Asia. But the fact remains that capacity for doing it is past. They may carry on for a year or two years, but it just cannot be done. The Dutch may do it elsewhere and if you look at it in the historical perspective all these things are hangovers of something past and the thing cannot be done.

4. Those who opposed the motion were Shibban Lal Saksena, H.V. Kamath, Damodar Swaroop Seth, Hasrat Mohani and K.T. Shah.
5. For instance, Shibban Lal Saksena quoted from Nehru's speeches at Delhi and Allahabad on 19 March 1937 and 10 August 1940 respectively and felt that the London Declaration violated the pledges contained in them. For these speeches, see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 8, pp. 60-71 and Vol. 11, pp. 101-114 respectively.

There may be strength behind it today; it may last even a few years and, therefore, we have to fight it and, therefore, we have to be vigilant. I do not deny that, but let us not think as if Europe or England was the same as it was fifteen or twenty years ago. It is not.

I was saying about our friends who have criticised us and taken this rather negative and passive view. I mentioned at another place that their view was static. I said that, in this particular context, it was rather reactionary and I am sorry I used that word because I do not wish to use words that hurt and I do not wish to hurt people in this way. I have certainly the capacity to use language, clever language, to hurt people, and dialectical language, but I do not wish to use it, because we are up against great problems, and it is poor satisfaction just to say a word against an opponent in an argument and defeat him by a word, and not reach his heart or mind; and I want to reach the hearts and minds of our people and I feel that whatever our domestic differences might be, let there be differences honestly felt. We do not want a cold regimentation of this country.

So far as foreign affairs are concerned, there may also be differences; I do not deny that. But the fundamental things before any man, who is—whatever else he may be—an Indian patriot, who wants India to progress and the world also to progress, must be necessarily Indian freedom, that is, complete freedom, India's progress, economically and the rest, India playing a part in this freedom of the world and the preservation of peace, etc., in the world. These are the fundamental things. India must progress; India must progress internally. We can play no part unless we are strong in our country economically and otherwise. How we should do so internally may be a matter of difference of opinion. Now, I think it should be possible for people who differ considerably in regard to our internal policy, it should be possible for us to have more or less a unified foreign policy on which we agree or mostly agree. May I make myself clear? I do not wish in the slightest to stop argument or comment or criticism; not that; and I want that; it is a sign of a healthy nation. But I do wish that argument to be the argument just of a friend and not of an opponent who sometimes uses that argument, not for argument's sake, but just to injure the opposite party, which often is done in the game of politics. I do not see any major difference for any person. I do see a major difference between those individuals or groups who think in terms of other countries and not of India at all as the primary thing. That is a basic difference and with them it is exceedingly difficult to have any common approach about anything. But where people think in terms of India's independence and progress in the near future and in the distant future and who want peace in the world, of course, there will be no great difference in our foreign policy. And I do not think there is, in fact, although it may be expressed differently. Although a government can only speak in the language of a government, others speak a language, which we all used to speak, of opposition and agitation. So I would beg this House and, if I may say so, the country to look

upon this problem not in any party spirit, not in the sense of bargaining over this little matter or that.

We have to be careful in any business deal not to lose anything which is advantageous to the nation. At the same time, we have to look at this problem in a big way. We are a big nation. If we are a big nation in size, that will not bring bigness to us unless we are big in mind, big in heart, big in understanding and big in action also. You may lose perhaps a little here or there with your bargainers and hagglers in the market-place. If you act in a big way, the response to you is very big in the world and their reaction is also big. Because, good always brings good and draws good from others and a big action which shows generosity of spirit brings generosity from the other side.

Therefore, may I finish by commanding this resolution⁶ to you and trusting that the House will not only accept it, but accept it as something of a harbinger of good relations, of our acting in a generous way towards other countries, towards the world, and thus strengthening ourselves and strengthening the cause of peace.

6. The resolution was passed by the House.

8. A.I.C.C. Resolution on the Commonwealth¹

The All India Congress Committee, having considered the Declaration, agreed to by the Prime Minister of India, on the continued² membership of India in the Commonwealth of Nations, as set out in the official statement issued at the conclusion of the Conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London on April 27th 1949, records its approval of the action taken on behalf of India. The Committee is of opinion that this action is in accordance with the directive given in the Foreign Policy Resolution of the Jaipur Congress and that³ it maintains the full sovereign independence of the Indian Republic, while at the same time keeping the free association of India with other Commonwealth countries in a new conception of the Commonwealth which in no way interferes with the sovereignty and freedom of action of each member country.

1. Drafted by Nehru on 18 May and passed by the A.I.C.C. on 21 May 1949. J.N. Collection.

2 & 3. The words 'continued' and 'that' were not included in the final resolution.

9. Association with the Commonwealth¹

The London agreement is in strict accordance with the Jaipur resolution. What I accepted in London was not the same thing that we have been constantly opposing in the past. The decision is a friendly pact. India is to remain completely sovereign and independent and the London agreement gives recognition to this fact. The symbolic recognition of the King does not affect India's republican Constitution. I appeal to the members not to bring in the question of racial discrimination while discussing the merits of the resolution. Membership of the Commonwealth does not prevent India fighting South Africa's policy. Even under the present set-up certain issues had to be taken bilaterally within the Commonwealth itself, just as between any two independent nations. India never referred its disputes to the Commonwealth on several issues, say about Kashmir and its conflicts with Pakistan. The Commonwealth is no super State; it is still an undefined but growing concept.

Our being in the Commonwealth does not imply that India would accept all policies variously agreed to by the individual countries in the Commonwealth. India can have pacts and treaties with Russia and also with U.S.A. for mutual benefit. But that does not mean that India subscribes to the Russian or American policies.

Regarding the execution of Ganapati in Malaya, I may inform the House that the Government tried to get the sentence commuted but failed. The Government are now making efforts on behalf of Sambasivam. However, I must point out that the Malayan Government has certain laws equally applicable to all the inhabitants of Malaya, to the Chinese and all others, and the Government of India cannot tell the Malayan Government that Indians arrested under the same regulations should not be treated just like the others. The Government, however, can certainly plead for the commutation of death sentences, taking into account the special circumstances.

India cannot demand any right for Indians in South Africa, or elsewhere, which would prejudice the rights of the indigenous populations. I deny the allegation that I have agreed to visit the U.S.A. while declining such an invitation from the Soviet Union.² Such statements are utterly baseless. I would certainly visit the Soviet Union if I got an opportunity to do so. I am going to visit the U.S.A. because I have a long-standing invitation.

1. Speech at the A.I.C.C. meeting, Dehra Dun, 21 May 1949. From *Congress Bulletin*, No.4, June-July 1949, and *The Hindustan Times* and the *National Herald*, 22 May 1949.
2. It was said during the discussion that Nehru had accepted President Truman's invitation to visit the United States while a similar invitation from Stalin was refused.

The London decision might be bitter for others but not for the Congress or for India. It will help to consolidate India's freedom and strengthen the forces of peace in the world.

The next four or five years are vital for world peace. If we are not economically strong we would not be able to influence world politics. The London decision gives us an opportunity to advance economically, which can be achieved under the agreement without sacrificing national self-respect.

There are seventy or eighty independent States in the world and of these only four or five can be said to be independent in the real sense. India will be as free as any of these four or five countries.

During the last two hundred years, India has developed certain economic connections with Britain and she cannot afford to cut them suddenly. To build up the same relations with other countries will take at least two or three crucial years.

I reiterate that the London agreement is in accordance with past pledges. I agree that the agreement should have been first discussed by the A.I.C.C. and afterwards by the Constituent Assembly. But the A.I.C.C. could not be called at too short a notice while the Constituent Assembly met soon after the London Declaration and it was only proper that such a momentous issue should have been referred to it immediately.

9

FOREIGN POLICY

I. Bilateral Relations

i. The United Kingdom

1. Cable to C.R. Attlee¹

Your High Commissioner has met me and explained to me the plans of H.M.G. regarding Hong Kong.² We appreciate the difficulties of

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Commissioner has met me and explained to me the plans of H.M.G. regarding Hong Kong.² We appreciate the difficulties of and the necessity for precautionary measures to be taken in case of developments and the possibility of armed attack. I am happy to learn Government wishes to follow the policy of giving no offence to the new government and thus to avoid, as far as possible, a situation arising which conflict. The proposed precautionary military measures are thus designed exclusively to resist an armed attack on Hong Kong, should this occur. I doubt very much whether the Chinese Communist armies, with the difficult task of internal reconstruction that they have to face in wish to take action that would mean war with a great power. The of such a war would undoubtedly be far-reaching for all parties aggression has, of course, to be resisted. But policies may be so framed possibility of such a situation arising. The next two or three months see many developments which will progressively change the internal situation of China. It is too early yet to predict what will happen then. contingency, against which you are preparing yourself, arise, you may that we shall examine the situation sympathetically.

No doubt, appreciate that while it is right to refuse to yield to force, nationalism throughout South East Asia cannot be ignored and the Hong Kong has thus to be considered dispassionately. You have, if I may, for yourself the benefits accruing to the Commonwealth from the policy that you and your Government followed in respect of India.

Your High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, the situation: an untoward development that your Government Chinese Government leads to armed conflict designed exclusively

Personally, the enormous power of China, would have far-reaching consequences concerned. As far as to avoid the conflict will no doubt be far-reaching and external situation. Should the conflict rest assured that

You will, in the upsurge of nationalism in the future of Hong Kong say so, seen from an enlightened point of view.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Burma and Ceylon. It is this larger policy that is more important in the long run and in the perspective of history than any transient threat from the communist armies of China which may never materialise. I earnestly trust, therefore, that the future of Hong Kong will be viewed in the same spirit of imaginative statesmanship which you have shown elsewhere, and thus not only would the problem of Hong Kong be satisfactorily solved but the moral prestige of the Commonwealth would be still further enhanced.³

3. In his reply of 9 June, Attlee appreciated the Indian assurance of a sympathetic consideration of the situation in the event of an armed conflict and hoped that such a contingency would not arise. He realized "the importance of the general issues as to the future which you raise", and agreed with Nehru that the next few months would see many developments in China. He undertook "to keep in the closest touch" with Nehru in the matter.

2. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1949

My dear Matthai,

Shiva Rao was in England a few days ago. I saw him the other day and he told me that Stafford Cripps was very hurt by the messages we had sent him. He was in a state that can be described as one of wounded innocence. He feels that he approached us in all goodwill and we gave him a kick. I am merely informing you of this so that you may know the state of mind that Cripps is in. I have had information of this from other sources also.

I think it would be a good thing if you sent a brief cable to Krishna Menon, in addition to the letter you are writing to him. He is very sensitive and feels that he is deliberately slighted and made to feel small before the Pakistan High Commissioner and the British Government.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

3. To B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya¹

New Delhi
June 15, 1949

My dear Pattabhi,

Mr Tebbitt,² correspondent of a British group of newspapers, tells us that he had an interview with you. You told him then that "the South African issue, which was taken up by India in the United Nations, was only a political move against the British. They were actually not interested in what happened to Indians in South Africa."

Mr Tebbitt informs us that he was surprised at this statement coming from you as indeed he must have been. I am sure you could never have said anything of the kind. But the fact remains that the British correspondent took you to mean this. Any such statement will lead to a lot of trouble and in fact it could not be correct. So far as we are concerned, it is not a political move against the British at all.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Alwyn Tebbitt.

I. Bilateral Relations
ii. The United States

1. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
May 31, 1949

Nan dear,

I came back from Kashmir yesterday after two days in Srinagar. It was very delightful there and though I was kept very busy, I enjoyed my visit. On the whole, I found conditions somewhat better there than previously. Quite a number of our ambassadors have gone there and Srinagar, though still rather empty, has some air of normality. Of course the main problem pursues us and we shall probably have to face some new development in the course of the next week or two.

I have almost decided to pay a visit to Leh in Ladakh early in July. I shall really have to go beyond Leh to a famous monastery where a big fair is being held. This attracts Buddhists from Tibet and surrounding areas. This visit will take almost a week, even though I go to Leh by air. I am looking forward to it greatly, as it would involve some little trekking at high altitudes.

I continue to get invitations from America. All these are referred back to your Embassy. Obviously no programme can be arranged now and we must wait. It is my intention to go to the U.S.A. via London. I have no particular desire to go to London on my way to U.S., though I want to go there on my return. The real reason for my going via London is to take advantage of Air India as far as I can. I see no reason to pay money to an American airline if I can help it. Dollars are a very precious commodity nowadays. Even during my visit to the U.S., I want to do things as economically as possible so as to spend as few dollars as I can.

This mention of dollars leads me to ask you to impress your Embassy staff to be as economical as possible about dollars. This has become a major problem for us and I want to set an example when I am in America. I should like to avoid buying anything there.

I understand that you are thinking of paying a visit to California. That is a good idea. I suppose that during your absence B.R. Sen will remain at Washington. It would be undesirable for both of you to be away.

We had a hint a little while ago that our Embassy in Washington had not kept in intimate touch with the State Department in recent months. This of course does not apply to you, as you have just gone there, or even to B.R. Sen, who was mostly away from Washington. It must therefore apply to an earlier period. What was

1. J.N. Collection.

suggested was that the Embassy's relations with the State Department were more or less formal. The State Department has not been functioning in a manner satisfactory to us. The recent visit of our military mission to the U.S. has not proved successful, chiefly because of the State Department's attitude. All others were helpful enough. I think it is necessary that the State Department should be cultivated a little more and in informal ways so that matters of interest to us could be discussed fairly fully.

Some days ago authority was sent to you to engage an American as some kind of a publicity expert. This was done on the recommendation of Rama Rau, when he was Ambassador. I do not know if you have actually engaged him or not. I do not particularly fancy this engagement of an American. I should have liked to have your own independent views about it, taking into consideration all factors. Of course if he has already been engaged, there is an end to the matter and we shall have to keep him for three months.

There has been a big burst-up in our Embassy in Brazil. Masani² is coming back. Krishna Kripalani is on his way back also and Makki Atal³ and family will also soon be back here. If any of these persons happen to go to Washington or New York, they will no doubt broadcast their own version of the story. It has been a bad business all round. We do not know all the facts, except that a number of Indians representing India have succeeded in making a bad mess.

Lekha⁴ and Ashok⁵ have gone to Goa.

Your loving brother,
Jawahar

2. Minoo R. Masani.
3. Jai Kumar Atal.
4. Chandrakanta Mehta.
5. Ashok Nanalal Mehta (b.1921); member of the Indian Foreign Service; Consul-General, Goa, 1949-50; Deputy High Commissioner, Pakistan, 1960-62; Ambassador to Afghanistan, 1968-71; High Commissioner to Nigeria, 1971-74; Ambassador to Mexico, 1974-79.

2. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
June 8, 1949

Nan dear,

I forgot if I have acknowledged your letter of the 20th May. It was a good letter which I enjoyed reading.

1. J.N. Collection.

It is interesting to have American reactions to our continuing in the Commonwealth. This brings out rather pointedly a certain inherent conflict between England and the U.S.A. We have seen evidence of this in many ways. If we deal with the U.S.A. in regard to the sale of certain atomic energy material, they frankly tell us that they do not want us to sell them to the U.K., although the U.K. happens to be their close friend and ally. In England of course there is not too much friendship in evidence for the U.S.A., partly because they feel themselves dependent on America and do not like it. Also the domestic policies of the U.K. and the U.S.A. are very different, although their foreign policies are more or less similar, not quite. The U.S. dislikes the growing socialist tendencies and activities in the U.K.

An India which was isolated completely from the Commonwealth would inevitably have had to slope in some direction. Practically speaking, that is in terms of capital goods and money or credit required, that sloping could only have been in the direction of the U.S. America wants very much to tie ourselves with her foreign policy and in a sense relies a little more on us in regard to her Asian policy. All this suffers a slight setback because we are associated with the Commonwealth. Of course association with the Commonwealth does not mean any conflict with the U.S. In effect it means something the reverse of it.

I am quite clear in my mind, as I have been for sometime past, that it was the right policy for us to continue in the Commonwealth on the terms and conditions we laid down and which were accepted. It would have been dangerous for us to isolate ourselves and risky for us to slope too much towards the U.S. in the present context. That would have made it more difficult for us at any time to play the role of a friendly neutral to any of the parties concerned. It must be remembered also that with all the expressions of goodwill that are showered upon us from America, the State Department has been far from friendly. The recent military mission that we sent had a friendly reception in England, in Switzerland and even in America except for the State Department. As the State Department was what mattered in the U.S., the result was that our military mission did not achieve anything substantial in the U.S. In the U.N. Kashmir Commission it is the U.S. member² who is definitely and constantly hostile to us. In Indonesia, the U.S. policy has been even lately to bring continuous pressure on the Indonesian Republic to agree to Dutch terms.

In regard to Kashmir, you will remember the kind of hint or threat that was held out by some official of the State Department, when B.R. Sen went to discuss the U.N. Commission's proposals. That is a sort of thing which does not make us feel very friendly towards the U.S. I am afraid I cannot get over the feeling that the U.S. diplomacy is immature or it is too sure of its physical might to care

2. J. Klahr Huddle was the U.S. representative in the U.N.C.I.P. till April 1949. Later Robert Macatee took over from him.

for the niceties of diplomatic behaviour. They have had a very bad setback in China and they have not succeeded in many other places. And yet they have not wholly learnt their lesson yet. We rely upon them inevitably for many things and we want to be friends with them. But there are some things we just cannot swallow.

I think I wrote to you sometime ago that during the recent past, our Embassy does not seem to have had any real intimate and informal contacts with the State Department. An attempt should be made to develop these. They count anywhere and more especially in America.

Louis Johnson, I am sure, continues to be a good friend of India. Remember me to him and give him my greetings and good wishes. Tell him that I am greatly looking forward to meeting him and his wife. Also the Herringtons.

About Vesugar's³ appointment, you will remember this was fixed up when you were here. It is not a good appointment from the political point of view. But there is not much politics in Argentina, so far as we are concerned at present. As you know, we are very hard up for suitable persons. It is all very well for people there to talk about foreign wives, when their Ambassador in India possesses a wife, who behaves in a most extraordinary manner. It is not correct to say that Vesugar left Washington in disfavour with our Government. We did disapprove of one particular thing he did. But on enquiry, this was not of any great importance.

I am glad you induced B.N. Rau to refrain from using J.J. Singh's name.⁴ I am quite sure that we must not encourage him. The difficulty arises about the India League, because we cannot ignore it. I shall have to face this difficulty, when I go to the U.S. I propose to tell Walsh⁵ frankly about it.

The Kashmir issue is still in the clouds. That is to say, the Commission is sitting on it. From such accounts as we have had, Pakistan has also not accepted the proposals.

The Constituent Assembly is plodding on here, a weary business. Possibly we might finish this part of our work by the end of July. Then the whole Constitution will have to be properly revised and drafting improved. We meet for the last time for the third and final reading in September or October. It will be passed then, I hope, and we shall have to fix a date ahead for the formal inauguration of the Republic. That day is likely to be, or at any rate we hope it will be, the 26th of January next.

3. Jamshed B. Vesugar (b. 1894); joined Indian Service of Engineers, 1917, and served in various capacities with the Government of India; Executive Engineer, Government of Punjab, 1947; head of the India Supply Mission, Washington; appointed Ambassador in Argentina, 1949.
4. When the Hyderabad issue was under discussion in the Security Council, B.N. Rau had suggested that a letter, sponsored by J.J. Singh, might be published in the press giving India's point of view.
5. Richard J. Walsh.

I am thinking of going to Ladakh just for three or four days early in July. I shall go to Leh by air and then by mountain track about twenty-five miles to a famous monastery. They are having a big fair there. I am looking forward to this visit.

You must have heard about the trouble we have had in our Embassy in Brazil. Indeed I understand that Masani has warned you. I am not prepared to form a judgement till I know all the facts. But one thing is clear that Masani has been a failure and has been totally incapable of running the Embassy properly. He is very bitter against the Kripalanis⁶ and Makki Atal. I must confess that I am inclined to think that Masani is more likely to be in error than the others.

You will have a job in drawing up my programme for America. At the outside, I shall stay there for three weeks. I do not want the India League function to be my first big function.

Yours,
Jawahar

6. Krishna and Nandita Kripalani.

3. To Members of the Economic Committee¹

New Delhi
9 June 1949

Dear Members,

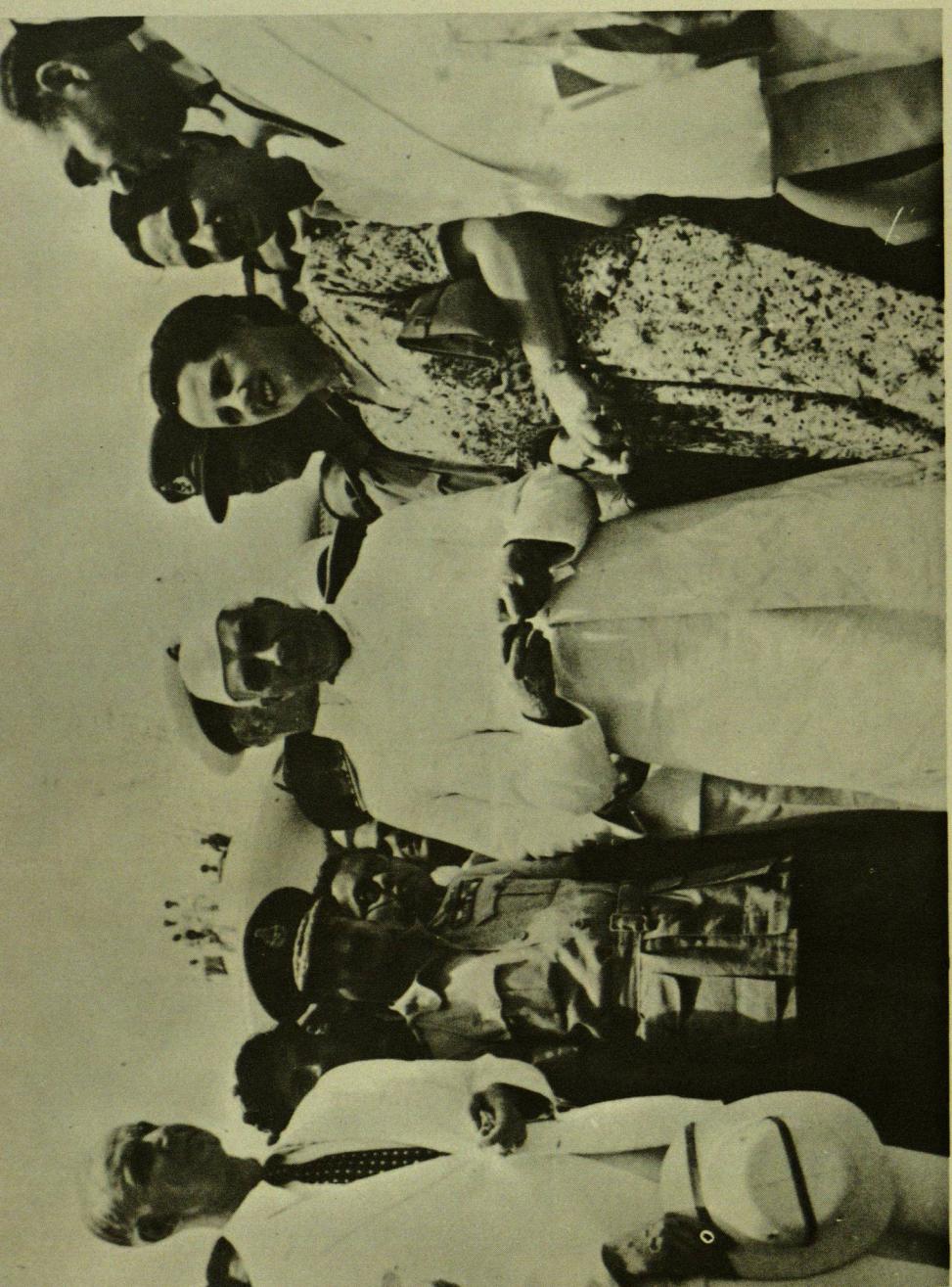
This morning I had an interview with J.H. Compton² who had come to me especially on behalf of W.E. Knox, President, Westinghouse Electric International Company. He handed me a letter from President Knox. I enclose a copy of this letter.

This letter contains many interesting suggestions and proposals.³ I think it represents definitely a friendly approach on behalf of American big business which is thinking more and more in terms of large scale loans to India for development

1. J.N. Collection. This letter was sent to the following members of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet: John Matthai, Gopalaswami Ayyangar, K.C. Neogy, Jagjivan Ram, S.P. Mookerjee and Jairamdas Doulatram. Copies of this letter were sent to Vallabhbhai Patel, C. Rajagopalachari, Vijayalakshmi Pandit and G.S. Bajpai.
2. J.H. Compton represented Westinghouse Electric International Company in India.
3. Knox believed that it was increasingly urgent for the U.S. to help India achieve rapid economic progress and thereby prevent its possible drift to communism. In his letter of 2 May, he suggested that India, with the help of a long term, low interest loan of one to two billion dollars from the U.S. Government and American technical assistance and know-how, should undertake to develop an infrastructure, involving heavy industry, which would encourage participation of private enterprise, both Indian and foreign, in future economic growth.



WITH PRIME MINISTER AND AMBASSADOR OF EGYPT, CAIRO, 6 MAY 1949



AT WILLINGDON (NOW SAFFARUNG) AIRPORT, NEW DELHI, 7 MAY 1949

in which they are interested both for private reasons of profit as well as other reasons of larger policy.

The immediate proposal that he makes about inviting a large delegation of prominent Americans to India seems to me not very feasible or desirable.⁴ In any event, no such visit can take place till next winter and much may happen by then. Any such organised visit of a crowd of businessmen and others would probably invite very adverse comments in India and it will be said that we are selling our country to Wall Street etc.

However, I am not discussing the contents of this letter. I am merely sending it on at present to the Members of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet. We might discuss it at a later stage so as to enable me to send some kind of a preliminary reply.

Please keep this matter completely secret. It would be unfortunate if it is talked about.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Knox proposed that prominent Americans, including the Vice President and representatives from the Congress, Federal Departments, Export-Import Bank, International Bank, Armed Forces, universities and various industries, be invited by the Indian Government for a tour of India. This would increase consciousness among the American people about India and help in securing financial assistance for India's developmental effort and American participation in it.

4. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1949

My dear Ambassador,

This morning I had a visit from J.H. Compton on behalf of W.E. Knox, President, Westinghouse Electric International Company. He handed me a letter from President Knox. I enclose a copy of it for your information.

The letter is indicative of the interest of American big business in India and of their desire to do something about it. No doubt, as always in regard to the American way of thinking, it is a mixture of good intentions, private profit and national policy.

1. J.N. Collection.

The suggestion that we should invite a large crowd of prominent Americans to India does not appear to me to be feasible or desirable. Anyway, this cannot be done before the next winter and we shall see what happens till then. We have to steer a middle course. We want financial help from America for our development and a loan on easy terms. At the same time we do not wish to get tied up too much with American business interests. Psychologically speaking, it will have a bad effect on our people and they will think that we are selling India to the U.S.A.

However, I do not propose to discuss the contents of this letter here. I am merely sending it on to you to keep you informed. You need not take any steps about it. It might be better even not to talk to others about it in America. We shall consider the letter in our Economic Committee of the Cabinet and probably send a friendly and non-committal reply.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
June 18, 1949

My dear Ambassador,

Your Embassy has sent me a letter from the U.S. Secretary of Defence, Mr Louis Johnson. I have written to him in reply and I enclose a copy of this letter.²

I am getting rather alarmed about my visit to the U.S. At the most I intend spending three weeks there, out of which I should like to take out two or three days for Canada. I am receiving so many invitations—and many of them I would like to accept—that I do not know what to do about it. The burden for drawing up my programme will ultimately fall on you. You will, of course, consult the State Department people.

As for my visiting Canada, probably the best course would be for me to go to Vancouver or California and from there to Ottawa and then back to the United States.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Nehru wrote that he was greatly looking forward to meeting Johnson and his wife, and visiting the West Virginia University. He added that India's Ambassador would consult him in fixing up his tour programme in the United States.

I have received your letter dated June 14th³ about Dr Piara Singh Gill.⁴ I am forwarding it on to our Department of Scientific Research and shall let you have their answer. Gill is undoubtedly a good man. Unfortunately he fell out with Homi Bhabha and other Atomic Energy people here. This has produced a difficulty. Naturally our resources here are not so great as in America. We have to concentrate in one or two places for effective work. We cannot have a number of separate research centres for Atomic Energy work. Just at the present moment we are suffering from acute financial stringency and I doubt very much if we can even afford the special funds for a new centre. But apart from this, in the larger interests, it is desirable that there should be cooperation amongst our scientists. I think that Gill was to some extent in error when he was here in the way he treated others. No doubt others were at fault too.

Your letter does not indicate how long it may be necessary for him to stay on in the United States to complete his work at the National Bureau of Standards.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Vijayalakshmi wrote that Gill had completed the first part of a "very dangerous and important piece of work" at the National Bureau of Standards on behalf of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. She suggested that the Government might financially help him to set up a research centre to train young scientists in India. Meantime he could be appointed as a Scientific Liaison Officer at the Embassy and do the remaining work at the Bureau.
4. (b. 1911); lecturer, Forman Christian College, Lahore, 1940-47; professor of experimental physics, TIFR, 1947-48; with U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, 1948-49; professor of physics, Aligarh Muslim University, 1949-63; director, Gulmarg Research Observatory, 1951-71; director, Central Scientific Instruments Organization, Chandigarh, 1963-71; professor emeritus, Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana, 1972-82; fellow of several Indian and foreign scientific societies.

I. Bilateral Relations
iii. The Soviet Union

1. To S. Radhakrishnan¹

New Delhi
May 7, 1949

My dear Radhakrishnan,

Your letter of the 26th April reached me in London a day or two before I left on my return journey. I thought of writing to you or sending a telegram, but then I decided to wait till my return here. I returned this afternoon.

I appreciate all that you have written and the many important activities in which you are engaged. I would have hesitated to draw you away from them, or rather some of them. But after giving the most careful thought to this matter, we came to the conclusion that you could do work of the most vital importance for India in the Soviet Union. If I had not thought so, I would not have approached you. Recent developments, that is, the agreement arrived at at the Commonwealth Conference about the Indian Republic remaining in the Commonwealth, make our approach to the Soviet even more important. It is in fact a fundamental and basic one from the point of view of the world situation.

We have three very important posts abroad, London, Moscow and Washington. Each is different from the other. Although all three are of equal importance, the Moscow one is the most delicate and, for the moment, the most important. It is true that the type of work there is not so much the normal routine work in an embassy, though there is some of that of course. It is much more a psychological approach to the Soviet mind and an attempt to make them realise that we mean what we say. In spite of bitter criticisms they have made of India and the present Government of India,² we still want to be friendly with them and to help in the preservation of peace in which they are so very much interested. All our foreign policy is directed to that end, and one of the main reasons why I agreed to the recent London settlement was because I thought this would help in the preservation of peace and would give India a chance to make her influence felt a little more than otherwise. I think it will have that result. To put this across to the Soviet Government is of vital importance. It is just possible that a right approach from us may ultimately make a big difference in world affairs. If our *bona fides* are accepted, then we can be helpful in easing the tensions that exist in the world.

1. File No. 1(73) Eur. II/49, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. The Soviet Union condemned the Indian Government as "lackeys of imperialism". A.M. Diakov, a leading Soviet Indologist, declared Nehru as a demagogue and Gandhism as a reactionary movement and "a most important ideological weapon in the hands of the Indian bourgeoisie for keeping the masses under its influence."

Thus, in a sense, our activities in Moscow bear directly on our work for world peace. Whether they will succeed or not, is more than anyone can say. But I have a feeling that they will make good. Because of this, after long thought, I came to the conclusion that you would make the most suitable ambassador. My sister has, on the whole, done remarkably well there in difficult circumstances. Owing to various factors I felt that she might not have suitable opportunities for being able to do something fresh in this direction. A person like you, well-known internationally in non-political activities and with broad nationalist and humanist views, would be welcomed in the Soviet Union and would start off with an initial advantage, which most others would not. What positive results you might be able to achieve, it is difficult to say, because such results depend on so many factors outside our control. One thing, however, is certain that we will then prevent the situation from deteriorating and might well help somewhat in bettering it. That in itself would be a big thing in this delicate and complicated world situation.

In spite of our many failings in India, the world is opening out to us and recognising some quality in us. It is up to us to try our best to take advantage of this, for the future may well be affected by it, our own and that of the world. So the question of appointment to Moscow cannot be treated as just that of any other appointment.

In your letter you say that "If there is the slightest chance of doing any good there (Moscow), it should not be thrown away." I have indicated above that there is very much more than the slightest chance and it would be wrong for you and me to throw this away. You have been good enough to say that. After reading your letter and realising how you feel about the matter, if I still decide that you should go, you will do so for the period of one year. I am clearly of opinion that you should accept this ambassadorship and go to Moscow. I presume therefore that you will agree. Could you please let me know immediately?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To S. Radhakrishnan¹

New Delhi
May 11, 1949

My dear Radhakrishnan,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th May.² It is difficult to anticipate what will

1. File No. 1(73) Eur. II/49, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. Radhakrishnan agreed to go as Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. and expressed the hope that he might be able to further Indo-Soviet friendship by convincing the U.S.S.R. that India genuinely wanted peace and freedom of the oppressed nationalities.

happen. But in any event we have to go ahead and do our best to prove our *bona fides*.

K.P.S. Menon will send you any particulars you require. As for the staff in Moscow, most of them have studied Russian hard during the last year and more and a newcomer without the knowledge of the language would not be very useful. So far as I know, the staff is entirely Indian, except possibly for the domestic staff.³ We sent some persons from here to serve as attendants etc. They came back last year.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Radhakrishnan had indicated his preference for an entirely Indian staff.

3. Allegations Against the Soviet Union¹

The press reports about Mr Masani's activities in the Sub-Commission for the Protection of Minorities indicate that he attacked Soviet Russia in strong language.² There was some point in his remarks and they might perhaps have been made or hinted at. But the manner of doing it seems to me to have been intemperate and uncalled for. We might leave this kind of attack on the Soviet Union to the U.K. or the U.S.A. who have specialized in it. There is no need for us to create ill will against ourselves by criticizing other countries. We have plenty of things in our own country of which we are not proud.

2. Mr Masani of course has a dominating passion against everything in Soviet Russia and he cannot control himself on this issue. I do not suppose it is worthwhile sending him any directions now as the matter has probably been disposed of. I do feel, however, that it is a risky business to send Mr Masani as our representative to any of these U.N. conferences because he is likely to commit us in some ways and otherwise to put us in a difficult position.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 19 June 1949. File No. 5(101)-UN-I/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. M.R. Masani, the Indian delegate on the twelve-member Sub-Commission, charged the Soviet Union with anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish purges since 1945. While the Soviet delegate remarked that the allegations were part of a U.S. campaign, Masani supported a U.S. proposal to set up a petition committee to study complaints of discrimination. He also criticised the Moscow press for referring to the advocates of world government "as homeless cosmopolitans".

I. Bilateral Relations
iv. Pakistan

1. To Zafrullah Khan¹

New Delhi
 May 8, 1949

Dear Sir Zafrullah,

Please refer to your letter of March 28th, 1949, and my reply dated March 31st. You expressed some apprehension about Ahmadias at Qadian. I am informed by the Prime Minister of East Punjab that there is no question of the Ahmadias living at Qadian being ejected from the houses at present occupied by them. The fear expressed about their ejection is therefore without foundation.

Yours sincerely,
 Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Hyderabad and the Security Council¹

The Prime Minister read out a telegram from Shri B.N. Rau about a request by Pakistan to the Security Council for reconsideration of the Hyderabad situation on the allegation that the position of Muslims there had further deteriorated.² The Prime Minister added that India's attitude in the past regarding the Hyderabad question had been that of refusal to appear before the Security Council if the question was taken up by it. It was proposed to adhere to the same attitude if Pakistan's request was acceded to by the Security Council.³

1. Minutes of a Cabinet meeting, 8 May 1949. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.
2. Hyderabad was discussed in the Security Council on 19 and 25 May 1949.
3. The Cabinet approved of the Prime Minister's proposal.

3. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
June 5, 1949

My dear Premier,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st June.

There is little doubt that the East Bengal Government and officials have no intention of settling down in friendship with West Bengal or with the minorities in their own province. I had a long talk with Col Jiwan Singh of the Noakhali Gandhi Ashram. The impression I got was that their attempt to squeeze him and his co-workers out is continuous. At the same time I felt that, for some reason or other, the East Bengal Government did not wish to take any extreme steps. They were quite nervous of other consequences ensuing. Anyhow, I have advised Jiwan Singh to remain at Noakhali whatever happens. If he and his co-workers leave, then the minority in Noakhali will be frightened and will tend to move themselves. In fact the effect on progress will be bad. I have asked Jiwan Singh to carry on there in spite of every difficulty. On the whole he should concentrate on the Noakhali area and not tour about East Bengal. He should of course come from time to time to West Bengal to meet you and others.

The whole question of East Bengal is tagged on to larger issues concerning India and Pakistan. I do not myself see any swift solution of these issues, though I have little doubt they will be solved some time or other. Till then we have to hold on in East Bengal and try to prevent minorities from coming away. It is obvious that any further emigration of minorities to West Bengal will be a calamity for all of us.

Jiwan Singh spoke to me about a proposal of his to take back some middle class families to East Bengal from West Bengal. He told me that he had discussed this matter with you fully and that you had agreed with the proposal. This amounts to utilising a part of the money which would be spent on relief or rehabilitation of these families going back. No further expenditure is involved. I think it will be a very good idea if this could be done, but to begin with it must be done on a small scale only and without any fuss or publicity....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

4. Possibility of War with Pakistan¹

Generally speaking I agree with Defence Minister's conclusion as given in paragraph 9 of his note of 19th May.

2. Our basic approach should be to avoid war, either limited to Kashmir State or on a wider scale. This is desirable in itself, but even from a narrower and opportunistic viewpoint it appears to be the right policy. Time is more in our favour than in Pakistan's. While the strain of delay is heavy for us, it is, I think, far heavier for Pakistan. This is so financially as well as psychologically. Pakistan has worked itself into a fever over the Kashmir issue. This emotional tension is a wearying business and cannot be kept up for long. Either it leads to conflict or to a toning down and frustration.

3. I think it is highly likely that in the event of resumption of military operations, the United Nations will intervene and order a ceasefire. This is even more likely if war takes place between India and Pakistan. I doubt, therefore, that such a war can continue for long. It may last a few weeks. But even those weeks will count and will make a difference to the final result.

4. I conclude that we should avoid war, that is, we should not take aggressive action leading to war. But we can only avoid war if Pakistan does likewise. We cannot be sure of that. Indeed the chances are that Pakistan will tend to take aggressive action in Kashmir State which will inevitably lead to open conflict. That aggressive action may, to begin with, be on the part of Pakistan irregulars and other forces.

5. In any event we have to be prepared for such developments and it is from this point of view that we consider the papers supplied by the Defence Ministry....

8. I am against any warning being given to Pakistan at an early stage as suggested in 10(a). At a later stage this may become necessary and it will have to be decided then. We may throw out this hint to Ambassadors of U.K. and U.S.A. or even to the U.N. Commission. How and where to do so will have to be considered. Pakistan cannot be unaware of this possibility and any troop movements on our part will confirm this fear on their part.

9. I am entirely against air-raid precautions being taken now, as suggested in paragraph 4 of the C-in-C's note. These will do little good to us and are likely to do a lot of harm.

1. Note to the Minister for Defence, 12 June 1949. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

5. Cable to Zafrullah Khan¹

Your telegram No. 2573 dated 13 June 1949.

2. East Punjab Government restored supplies to Central Bari Doab and Dipalpur Canals for *kharif*, 1949, on the basis of Inter-Dominion Agreement of 4th May 1948, and telegram No. 1681 Primin, Delhi, dated the 18th October 1948.

Regarding supplies beyond *kharif*, the matter is covered by paragraphs 3 and 4 of Inter-Dominion Agreement dated 4th May 1948 wherein the Dominion of Pakistan recognized the natural anxiety of the East Punjab Government to discharge its obligations to develop areas in East Punjab where water is scarce and which are underdeveloped in relation to parts of West Punjab and the right of the East Punjab Government to progressively diminish its supplies to the Central Bari Doab and the Dipalpur Canals in the West Punjab in order to give reasonable time to enable the West Punjab Government to tap alternative sources.

The matter is to be pursued in the next Inter-Dominion meetings under paragraph 6 of the Inter-Dominion Agreement referred to above.

As regards the five channels, in which you complain that the flow has not been restored, the Government of the East Punjab is being requested to set matters right, in case we have undertaken to supply water to these channels. Please instruct Chief Engineer, I.B., West Punjab, to contact Chief Engineer, I.B., East Punjab.

3. As regards the supply of water to the Bahawalpur State distributary, may I refer you to telegram No. Primin 1342 dated 15 June 1948 from Foreign New Delhi to Foreign Karachi.² The supply desired is from the tail of the Eastern Canal owned by East Punjab. We do not accept the right of the Bahawalpur State to uninterrupted supply of water, and, as mentioned in the telegram referred to above, the supplies, if agreed upon, will be subject to payment by Bahawalpur State of the interest, maintenance and seigniorage charges and for the period to be mutually agreed upon.

4. As regards the supply of daily gauges and discharge data referred to in paragraph 4 of your telegram we have never objected to giving the information relating to the channels which we have contracted to supply with water. I presume you are not asking for data about rivers and canals about which there has been no agreement. Question of your engineers working in the Indian territory does not arise.

5. I am glad that you have deposited the necessary amount to cover up the charges for the quarter ending 30 June 1949. I trust that the deposit for the ensuing

1. New Delhi, 13 June 1949. File No. DW(1)-CWD/49, Ministry of Irrigation.

2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 6, pp. 72-73.

quarter is also being arranged early. As regards the disputed amount, please refer to paragraph 4 of express letter No.D. 1337-I.B./48 dated 27 December 1948 from Foreign Karachi to Foreign New Delhi in which you agreed to the disputed amount being transferred in the name of the Prime Minister of India. We adhere to the agreed procedure. Therefore the question of a neutral escrow holder does not arise.

6. Our position has been consistent as regards the waters of rivers in our territory. In the Inter-Dominion Agreement dated 4th May 1948, Pakistan not only appreciated the anxiety of East Punjab Government to discharge its obligation to develop areas in East Punjab where water is scarce and which are underdeveloped in relation to parts of West Punjab, but agreed that apart from the question of law involved, the East Punjab could progressively diminish its supply to the Central Bari Doab and Dipalpur Canals in order to give reasonable time to the West Punjab Government to tap alternative sources. The provisions of paragraphs 3, 4 and 6 of the Inter-Dominion Agreement of 4th May 1948 are explicit. We, however, regret to notice that having conceded the right of the East Punjab Government to progressively diminish its supply to the Central Bari Doab and Dipalpur Canals in West Punjab, you have all along shown great hesitancy in complying with your solemn undertakings. We repudiate your suggestion that Pakistan's so-called equitable share includes not only water allocated to areas of Indus Basin in Pakistan at and prior to partition but any additional supply that may be made available by engineering works in our territory in future. We do not accept your contention that East Punjab is not entitled to undertake new engineering works except on the basis of agreement with Pakistan as to sharing of costs of works and apportionment of additional supply after ensuring protection of existing uses and fulfilment of existing allocations, etc.

Paragraph 6 of your telegram under reply goes back upon arrangements reached between West Punjab and East Punjab in various conferences and meetings after partition and the claim set out therein is opposed to the provisions of law contained in the Indian Independence Act and the various Orders made thereunder by Lord Mountbatten and Governor Jenkins.

We appreciate your efforts to tap alternative sources of water supply in West Punjab as agreed upon in paragraph No. 6 of the Agreement dated 4th May 1948 and on our part assure you that we are as anxious as ever for a friendly solution on the basis of the new situation created by the Indian Independence Act and the various orders made thereunder and the Agreement of 4th May 1948.

7. As provided in paragraph 6 of the Inter-Dominion Agreement of 4th May further meetings between the representatives of India and Pakistan had to take place after an examination by each party of the legal issues, of the method of estimating the cost of water to be supplied by East Punjab Government and of the technical survey of water sources and the means of using them for supply to the Central Bari Doab and Dipalpur Canals. You have not yet intimated to us whether the stage has reached as contemplated in paragraph 6 of the Agreement for further meetings.

As already mentioned we are anxious as ever to pursue the matter in further meetings and the want of insistence, if any, on our part to pursue the matter with all expeditiousness was merely to give ample time to enable your Government to tap alternative sources. As members of the United Nations, we are ever anxious to promote good neighbourly relations and reiterate that the solemn Inter-Dominion Agreement of 4 May 1948 defines the rights of the parties.

Indian Independence Act and the Orders made thereunder had created a new situation and on an appreciation of the altered situation parties entered into contracts on the point in question from time to time beginning with 22 December 1947. Your suggestion that even after partition the waters remain common as before is not accepted.

6. Policy regarding Pakistan and Afghanistan¹

I have read through these papers. I thought that we had already defined our policy regarding Afghanistan and Pakistan and nothing has happened to make us reconsider that policy.

2. Shri Zachariah² has entered larger fields which of course are connected with this matter. But when people start discussing the Russian or communist menace, and adjust their other ideas accordingly, I think we should be a little vigilant. In a sense there is that menace. But it is so interrelated with world problems that it serves little purpose to consider it in relation to an invasion of India. It may be taken for granted that there is going to be no such invasion for a considerable number of years. Therefore, we can put it out of our mind. The real communist menace is an internal one, encouraged no doubt by external happenings as in China. That menace has to be met chiefly by political and economic measures and not by military steps taken to guard the frontiers.

3. It is easy to say that it is in the interests of India and Pakistan to be friendly with each other and to develop strong and contented States. It is even easier to say that it is in the interests of the world to have world peace and put an end to the present tensions. Nevertheless the tensions continue and the fear of war in the future.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 15 June 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Kuruvila Zachariah, the then Director of the Historical Division in the Ministry of External Affairs.

4. Situated as India and Pakistan are, not only geographically but historically and otherwise, and having regard to recent history, it has to be admitted that they are unfriendly to each other. More especially Pakistan is unfriendly to India. That feeling of hostility is likely to continue for a considerable time and certainly till the Kashmir matter has not been settled. It may survive even that settlement in the event of that settlement being unfavourable to either party. Apart from this, the evacuee property problem gives rise to great bitterness.

5. We have to deal with this present situation. I am quite clear that the only way to do so is for India not to be aggressive but to be absolutely firm and not go out of its way to try to appease Pakistan. The whole of Pakistan policy, as that of the Muslim League that preceded it, is based on threats and bullying. Appeasement only leads to more bullying. We must, therefore, resist this and make it clear that we are not going to submit. At the same time we should do all this without ourselves becoming aggressive in any way.

6. Our approach really should be to make the Pakistan Government to feel that we will not submit to anything that we consider wrong and at the same time to make the people of Pakistan feel that we are not unfriendly to them and we do not wish them ill.

7. Some time or other, the relations of India and Pakistan will have to be adjusted properly. That time has not yet come. We should not do anything to obstruct such a settlement when the time comes for it.

8. In regard to Afghanistan we should be friendly and cooperative and helpful within limits. We cannot entangle ourselves in any untoward developments; nor should we act in a way so as to encourage a war between Afghanistan and Pakistan. But diplomatically and in matters of trade etc. we can be helpful.

9. According to both Machiavelli³ and Chanakya,⁴ India's interests would lie with countries on the either side of neighbouring countries. That doctrine hardly applies in the modern world because of various developments, but there is something in it which cannot be ignored.

10. In any event, I think that we should not worry ourselves about the Russian bogey. We should worry ourselves about internal conditions in India which give rise to communism.

3. Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527); Florentine statesman; author of several books including *The Prince* (1513), in which he justified unscrupulous scheming and duplicity in statecraft.
4. Philosopher and politician, credited with consolidating the empire of Chandragupta Maurya (321-297 BC) and authorship of *Arthashastra*, a manual on the art of administration and statecraft.

I. Bilateral Relations
v. Burma

1. To Thakin Nu¹

New Delhi
May 10, 1949

My dear Thakin Nu,

Thank you for your letter of the 5th May which Dr Keskar brought me.

Keskar has also given me an account of conditions in Rangoon and of his talks with people there. I need hardly tell you that I am very glad to know that we have been of some help to you. We shall always be ready to do what we can for you and the people of Burma.

You are already aware of what took place in London, when some of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers and others met together to consider the situation in Burma. I hope that the machinery that we have set up for coordinating assistance to Burma will prove effective and that through our cooperation, peace and tranquillity will soon be re-established in Burma.

Your proposal that India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma should come together for defence and economic purposes seems to me a little premature at the present moment.² If you like, you can certainly sound Pakistan. As a matter of fact the first step should normally be for India and Pakistan to come closer together in these matters. But unfortunately we are far apart and in Pakistan there is continuous talk of war on India over the Kashmir issue. You can hardly expect a joint defence pact when feelings are roused in this way. Ceylon is not likely to join any such arrangements. Later on, of course, some such development is desirable, perhaps enclosing a larger sphere. Meanwhile the suggestion made in London should prove helpful in organising cooperative help to you.

You mention another letter that you are going to write to me. I shall look forward to it.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Thakin Nu was the Prime Minister of Burma.
2. Thakin Nu had written in his letter, "It is time for India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma to come together for joint defence and economic pacts" and added that he would gladly sound Pakistan about it because it was "unwise... to settle our common problems piecemeal."

2. Cable to C.R. Attlee¹

Many thanks for your message of 15th regarding Burma. As I have already informed you I have more than once impressed upon Thakin Nu necessity of conciliation as offering only means of permanent return of stability and peace to Burma. At his request, I gave him, during his visit to Delhi in April, a long letter developing this theme,² because he wished to show something from me in writing to his colleagues. In letter from him which I received on my return from London meeting, he said: "Your letter had made a great impression on us here." In his latest, dated 10th May, he has repeated that he wishes "peace talks to be resumed." His difficulty is that he cannot move much in advance of the views of his military advisers on whose loyalty the very existence of his authority depends. Were he to alienate them and his colleagues in the Ministry, there would be a complete and immediate collapse. Timing of the next peace move is therefore important. Possibly a few Government successes will have the effect of making the Karens as well as Thakin Nu's colleagues and advisers more amenable. There is no reason however why a message should not go to Thakin Nu now on the lines proposed by you. I have suggested a few verbal changes (see my immediately following message)³ to make it more palatable to Thakin Nu. I agree that we should avoid publicity as to specific measures.

As regards financial aid, I should like to repeat that our own capacity to participate is limited and that this participation will be possible only on conditions of which you are already aware.⁴

1. New Delhi, 16 May 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 10, pp. 410-416.

3. Not printed.

4. Attlee felt that a policy of sending arms and money would not by itself restore the deteriorating situation in Burma and suggested that a renewed attempt should be made under cover of financial negotiations to bring about peace between the Government of Burma and the Karen insurgents.

I. Bilateral Relations
vi. Nepal

1. Cable to Jayaprakash Narayan¹

Message from Kathmandu says Koirala not dead but very weak² and being given intravenous glucose injections. Have asked for permission to Koirala's wife to proceed by air to Kathmandu. We are making strong representations for Koirala's release.

1. New Delhi, 17 May 1949. Jayaprakash Narayan Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Imprisoned for joining satyagraha against the Rana regime, B.P. Koirala, acting president of the Nepali National Congress, had been on hunger strike since 1 May 1949, demanding better amenities in prison.

2. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
May 27, 1949

My dear Sri Babu,

I am writing to you about developments relating to Nepal. In the past, we have had to deal with agitation in India in regard to reforms in Nepal. We have also had to deal with protests occasionally by the Nepalese Government about this agitation. Bihar is especially concerned because of its proximity to Nepal.

Our general policy has been that we should permit every kind of peaceful and constitutional agitation in India for reforms in Nepal. Thus we should not interfere with public meetings for this purpose or expressions of opinion in the press etc. If the agitation tends towards violence or speeches are delivered asking for armed raids on Nepal, then they offend against the law. Generally speaking, therefore, we permit peaceful agitation and only take action where any law of ours is contravened.

1. J.N. Collection.

Some special care has to be taken about the border areas of Nepal. If any attempt is made to organise a raid, then we can hardly permit it.

We have every sympathy for the demand for reforms in Nepal. As a Government, we have been supporting those demands. At the same time we cannot allow any violence to be preached against a friendly Government.

These are the general principles to be followed. We do not wish to interfere with normal agitation unless this goes beyond certain limits laid down by law. Events are developing fast in Nepal and we may have to face serious situations there or on the borders. We have, therefore, to be rather careful as to what we do in the matter. In case any emergencies of this type arise in Bihar or on the Bihar border, I suggest that you should refer the matter immediately to us for advice.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1949

My dear Chandreshwar Prasad,
I enclose three letters, one addressed to the King and two to the Prime Minister. These letters are sealed, but I am enclosing copies of them for your information. I suggest that you might first deliver the two formal letters with copies of my book,² one to the King and one to the Prime Minister. You may mention to the Prime Minister then, or when you have the chance, that you would like to have a special interview with him to convey a special message from me. At this special interview, you should give him my second and longer letter.³ I do not think that it will be necessary for you to discuss these matters at great length with him and I rather doubt if he will be prepared to discuss them with you. But you should tell him that you are at his disposal, should he care to discuss any of the matters I have mentioned in my letter with you. In any event, say that some kind of answer is expected. This may be given to you at his leisure.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. *The Discovery of India*.

3. The formal letters have not been printed. For the second letter to the Prime Minister of Nepal, see the next item.

With the King you will hardly have an opportunity of speaking. You should ask for a special interview to present my letter and my book to him. Even if you have that interview, there will probably be others present and so you will have no chance of having a talk with him. That does not matter. If you have a chance of saying a word to him in private, you can tell him that I am very much concerned about Nepal and her people and I have written at great length to the Prime Minister on this subject. The King should not lose heart and he must remember that the Government of India will not sit supinely by, if anything happens in Nepal. Please remember to be cautious in your language to people there, because there will be many eavesdroppers and people and persons who carry tales. An ambassador has to be careful about every word he uses and every person he meets.

Those in authority in Nepal are not very clever, except perhaps in a narrow sense of the word, and have little understanding of India or of the world. They should not be frightened, but at the same time they should be made to realise that our attitude, though friendly, is a firm one. We have waited nearly two years now for some changes to take place in Nepal. Not only has nothing happened but the situation has progressively deteriorated. They should understand that only disaster can follow this course. You might gently point out what has happened to the States in India. Of course Nepal is not an Indian State. But Nepal is today sandwiched in between India and China. If she is not progressive and friendly to India, she will have to deal with a much more ruthless government in China. If the Nepalese Government thinks that any foreign power like the U.K. or the U.S.A. are coming to their help, they are very much mistaken. Physically that cannot be done without the goodwill of India. Therefore the goodwill and friendship of India are paramount. We have gone a long way to show our goodwill and in fact we have done many things which have gone against our wishes. It is no pleasure to us to go about arresting our old comrades. Yet we have done it.

You should try to find out what the state of the political prisoners is in Nepal, how many there are, how they are treated, etc. I understand that they keep them handcuffed and sometimes chained up. This is monstrous and I think you might point out to the Prime Minister or his advisers that this kind of thing, if known in the outside world, will create a very unfavourable impression.

I do not know if you are acquainted with certain steps that are being taken by the U.P. Government for exploration in the Nepal Terai adjoining the U.P. We want this matter to be expedited. I suppose your Embassy will have the papers. If not, please tell us how matters stand and we will send you fuller information.

With all good wishes to you and wishing you success in your very delicate mission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Mohan Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1949

My dear Maharaja Saheb,²

I am venturing to write to you about certain matters affecting Nepal and India which have given us considerable concern. I had hoped that it might be possible for us to meet and discuss these and other matters fully so that we might understand each other. Unfortunately I have not been able to pay a visit to Your Highness, as I would have very much liked to do. I hope that it might be possible for Your Highness to come to Delhi in the future so that we might be able to have full and frank talks.

Your Highness no doubt realises that all of us, wherever we may be, are passing through a dynamic phase of transition in the world. India has put an end completely to nearly two hundred years of British rule and has been functioning as an independent country since August 1947. Within a few months India will be an independent sovereign republic. We have had to face tremendous problems in our country during this phase of transition. We have solved many of them, and yet many others still require constant attention. We have little doubt that we shall solve them also and proceed with our main task, that is, the betterment of the Indian people. That is a very big task, for we have to deal with three hundred and thirty million human beings, and to raise their standards and to improve their conditions of life and health and education is a tremendous task. Yet we are fully committed to it and we shall go ahead with all the strength in us.

We shall proceed with this task, because that has been our objective for the last thirty years or more, ever since many of us devoted ourselves to the service of India under Mahatma Gandhi's inspiring leadership. So long as life and strength remains with us, we shall devote them to this service of Indian humanity.

We have always conceived the freedom of India as a part of the freedom of all subject countries and suppressed nationalities. So we have championed in the United Nations and elsewhere the cause of freedom in Asia, in Africa and even in other continents. In doing so we have desired no gain or domination over others. We have suffered too long under foreign domination to think in terms of dominating over any people or any country. We are convinced that there can be no real freedom, until it is ultimately shared by all. Otherwise there is ceaseless conflict.

In our own generation we have seen great wars devastate the world, and yet the problems of the world are far from solution. Wise and far-seeing men everywhere realise that they can only be solved by vision and generous acts of statesmanship

1. J.N. Collection.
2. (1885-1967); Chief of Staff of Maharaja Chandra Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana, 1902-29; C.-in-C., Nepalese Army, and head of Home and several other departments, 1945-48; Prime Minister and Supreme C.-in-C., 1948-50; Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Defence, 1951.

and by the establishment of national freedom and human rights. If there is suppression of national groups or racial discrimination, that will be a ceaseless cause of conflict, which may lead to big disasters. There is talk of a possibility of a third world war and nations are ranged against each other already. Such a war would be an even greater calamity for the world than any previous war has been. In this age of the atomic bomb, a war means death and devastation for vast areas of the world. What will emerge from this, no one knows. And so it is of the most vital importance that all of us should try our utmost to prevent such a war from coming. India is committed to this policy of peace and because of it, we have avoided any alignment with any group of powers. We have tried to live in friendship with all and to judge each question on the merits and not because it is of advantage to this group or that. That is the policy we have pursued in the United Nations and elsewhere. Sometimes we have been misunderstood, but gradually it is being realised by the statesmen of other countries that India has a definite and positive policy of peace and freedom and that we mean no ill to any country. India's reputation in international affairs has grown and her influence is already considerable.

It is well-known that India's potential resources are tremendous. Her manpower is not only great but skilled and can take advantage of the latest developments of science and technology. Behind all this is the idealism which has moved us and inspired us to action during the past thirty years. I am convinced that India will play an ever greater part in the maintenance of peace and freedom in the world and in raising the standards, material as well as spiritual, of humanity.

In the world today we see mighty happenings. Some of these are good. Some do not appear to be good. Great forces are at play changing the whole face of the world. More particularly in Asia today there are great revolutions taking place. Our greatest neighbour, China, has long been in the throes of a revolution and a new regime is emerging there under communist auspices. That is an event of historic significance in Asia which is bound to have powerful reactions all over the world. Your Highness knows that we have combated the Communist Party's violent and subversive activities in India and we propose to continue to do so, because we feel that their programme and objective is injurious to India. We realise, however, that a mere attempt to suppress the Communist Party in India by military or police means is not enough. We have to meet their challenge by producing contentment in our people, removing their difficulties and raising their standards of life. It is this positive programme that will lead us to success. This applies not only to India but to other countries of Asia, where a similar conflict is taking place.

In order to meet this challenge of the times, we have thus to adopt a positive and far-seeing policy and to take our countries forward and to make our people more contented. Any other policy is bound to lead to failure. We see this failure writ large in various parts of Asia, simply because governments did not move with the spirit of the times and were consequently swept away.

By virtue of history, tradition, her natural resources, her geographical position and her new-born freedom, India is already playing a leading part in Asian affairs and many countries of Asia look up to her for friendly guidance. There is no desire on our part for leadership anywhere or to shoulder other peoples' burdens, but fate and circumstance compel us to accept this burden. We cannot isolate ourselves in this world and in this Asia, which has progressively become more coordinated.

I have tried to place before Your Highness a picture of this changing and dynamic world and the place of India in it. It is in this context that I would venture to address Your Highness in regard to Nepal. As a Government, it is not our business to interfere in the domestic policies of Nepal. Nepal is an independent country, friendly to us and having our friendship, and we wish her and her people well. But in this complicated and inter-related world, it is difficult and almost impossible for any country to ignore what is happening in another adjoining country. India is necessarily affected by what happens in Nepal, just as Nepal is inevitably affected by what happens in India. Because of this, I ventured to address Your Highness's predecessor³ in office and suggested that domestic reforms in Nepal would be to the great advantage of not only the people of Nepal but the Government of the country also. A colleague of mine, Shri Sri Prakasa, now Governor of the province of Assam, was lent by us to advise the Government of Nepal in regard to internal reforms. Shri Sri Prakasa laboured to this end and gave his advice. Unfortunately little has been done since then in carrying out that advice and the situation appears to have grown worse. This affects us in many ways. We are naturally interested in Nepal and her people, but, apart from this, our areas bordering Nepal are affected. As Your Highness knows, there has been considerable agitation in India, chiefly by Nepali residents in India, in regard to reforms in Nepal. The Government of India's policy has been, in accordance with general principles and the Constitution, to allow peaceful and constitutional agitation, even though we might not approve of it. We cannot allow violent agitation or subversive movements. Where, therefore, there has been any such violent attempt, we have taken action. Recently in Delhi city we have taken action against some prominent political personalities in India, because they sought to force their way into the Nepalese Embassy in Delhi in order to present a petition. These people are on their trial now.

We have done this because of our friendly feelings towards Your Highness's Government and our desire to avoid embarrassment to you. But our Government is a democratic Government based on the free will of our people. We cannot, in the long run, adopt any policy which is not approved of by our people. We have had to face a great deal of criticism and there is considerable sympathy in our country for those persons, whether Nepali or Indian, who have agitated for substantial reforms in Nepal. This feeling grows, because it is in keeping with the spirit of the times. Wherever we may go, whether it is in the United Nations or

3. Padma Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana.

in any foreign country or in India, there is continuous talk of democratic freedom and human liberty. It is natural, therefore, that people should criticise the lack of democratic freedom and human liberty in any part of the world. It is difficult for us as the Government of India to stop such criticism or to come in the way of any peaceful movement claiming such freedom and liberty.

I have ventured to place before your Highness this difficult situation for us. But I have little doubt that the difficulty and embarrassment must be even greater to Your Highness's Government. Nepal is a country bordering India and China. In China, as I have mentioned above, vast revolutionary changes are taking place. They will inevitably affect all Chinese border countries, unless steps are taken to prevent the overflow of these movements. These steps may be military, but essentially they have to be on some other plane. We have to combat not so much armies but ideas which come and disrupt and spread discontent and revolution among the people. The only way to combat ideas is with ideas and action to give effect to those ideas. It follows, therefore, that it has become urgently necessary for us, whether we are in India or in Nepal, to proceed rapidly with changes in our ideas and action so that we can produce contentment and progress among our people.

Nepal has recently applied for membership of the United Nations. We have gladly supported this application. But, as Your Highness knows, it has been objected to by the U.S.S.R. They claim that Nepal does not fulfil the conditions as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. That Charter is based on democratic freedom, self-determination and the preservation of fundamental human rights. It is not difficult to demonstrate that the objectives for which the United Nations stand are not wholly present in Nepal today, either from the point of view of democracy or of human rights. Hence the objection that is raised in the United Nations has some validity and it is difficult to answer it.

This question will come more and more in the forefront, whether in the United Nations or elsewhere, and the credit of Nepal will suffer somewhat by comparisons that will be made there. World opinion will not be friendly to Nepal and will demand changes in the internal economy of the country. Further, this will prove a weapon in the hands of those, in China or elsewhere, who stand for revolutionary changes.

This is the position which we have to face. It is too serious a position to be ignored, for it can only grow worse if we seek to ignore it. I have, therefore, taken the liberty to write to Your Highness frankly on this subject, because the sands of time are running out and swift action is necessary in order to meet the challenge of the times. We in India propose to meet this challenge, from wherever it may come, in our own way. It is for Your Highness to consider how it should be met in Nepal. One thing is certain that in this rapidly changing world, no country and no people can remain static. We have to change with the changing times or else there is danger that we are left behind or overwhelmed.

Your Highness must have observed how in the course of the last year and a half, the map of India has changed very greatly. Old established institutions have gone and a new India is arising, integrated, gaining strength every day and looking to the future with confidence, in spite of all our present difficulties.

I earnestly trust that Your Highness will give thought to what I have written. I have written so as a sincere friend of Nepal and her people, also as one who has some knowledge of world affairs and who is very anxious that the friendly relations between Nepal and India should continue and should become ever closer.

I need not assure Your Highness that the Government of India will always be happy to cooperate with Your Highness's Government in any endeavour to promote the prosperity of Nepal and her people.

May I repeat my invitation to Your Highness to visit Delhi, where you will be very welcome. Our Ambassador-designate, Shri Chandreshwar Prasad Narayan Singh, has been charged with offering Your Highness every cooperation and help in the great tasks which your country faces. He is a man of integrity and understanding and can be relied upon to deal with delicate matters as between our respective countries.

I send Your Highness my good wishes.

I remain,

Your sincere friend,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The Situation in Nepal¹

...The Prime Minister also referred to the situation in Nepal and said that there was no doubt that there was considerable dissatisfaction among the people against the present regime in Nepal. Any disturbances etc. in a border country like Nepal must naturally concern India and Government had given a clear indication to the Government of Nepal that the Government of India would like to see an improvement in the conditions in Nepal and a peaceful settlement of the dispute between the people and the Government. At the same time the Government of India had issued instructions to the provincial governments that while peaceful and constitutional agitation against the Government of Nepal by Nepalese in India was not to be prohibited, any violent or subversive activities must be stopped.

1. Remarks at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Legislature for the Ministry of External Affairs, 17 June 1949. File No. 18(53)-NEF/49, M.E.A., N.A.I. Extract.

I. Bilateral Relations
vii. Switzerland

1. Towards Closer Cooperation with Switzerland¹

Mr President,² I am deeply grateful to you and to the Federal Councillors for their warm welcome to me on this occasion. I realise that the welcome is much more to my country—the country whom I have the honour to represent here—than to my individual self.

I am very happy to visit Switzerland, even for a brief while, for a number of reasons. Your Excellency has mentioned my associations with this beautiful country in the past which have drawn me to it on many occasions long ago. Apart from that, this country attracts me because it is very like my own homeland of Kashmir, and I am reminded of my old homeland whenever I come here. Above all, this country is attractive because it has been a home of liberty and democratic freedom. It has been a heaven of peace even when conflicts and hostility have surrounded it. So it is natural that many of us should think warmly and in a friendly manner of this beautiful country and seek to develop closer contacts with it. It has been a great pleasure to me and my Government that our first treaty of friendship, the first treaty of independent India of friendship, should be with this ancient republic.³

You are an old republic, the oldest in Europe. We are an ancient country but newly free again, and within a few months it is likely that we shall proclaim India a republic. So our ancient country, but new Republic of India, will have close ties, I hope, with this ancient republic of Switzerland, and I am quite sure that in this friendly contact and intercourse we shall both benefit and we shall profit by each other's experiences.

1. Speech at a State reception, Berne, 3 May 1949. Prime Minister's Secretariat.
2. Ernst Nobs (1886-1957); editor and later editor-in-chief, *Volksrecht*, a socialist daily, from 1915; elected member, National Council (lower house), 1919; cabinet member, Cantonal Government of Zurich, 1935-42; Mayor of Zurich city, 1942-43; first socialist Federal Councillor (union cabinet minister) for Finance and Customs, 1943-51; President of the Swiss Confederation in 1949.
3. A treaty establishing "perpetual peace and unalterable friendship" between India and Switzerland was signed on 14 August 1948 in New Delhi. The treaty also provided for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries and the grant of the most-favoured-nation treatment for their nationals in respect of trade and professions.

You have referred, Sir, to my great master Mahatma Gandhi. It is a little difficult for me to say much about him because our relations were very close and even now, although over a year has passed since his sad death, his presence surrounds us and sometimes admonishes us for our failings and in a sense inspires us and guides us to future efforts. All over the world we have great problems—in India too. We, all of us, perhaps are rather small men in this world facing these great problems. Yet even small men who work with good heart, integrity, honesty of purpose and with friendliness to others, even they might achieve results. So we in India have worked in the shadow of that great man, and if we have achieved something, it is because of the inspiration he gave us.

Countries may be big or small. My country is a very big country in size, in population, perhaps today one of the biggest political entities in the world in point of population. Switzerland is a small country, but the greatness of countries does not depend upon the size and numbers, but on the spirit that people imbibe and it is that spirit that ultimately takes our people forward, and if that spirit endures, a country will go forward, and if not, then all its efforts will fail.

It is that spirit that Mahatma Gandhi infused in our people, and so in spite of our many failings we have progressed and we intend to go ahead very fast. As I said, we have great problems, but we have already succeeded in dealing with many of these problems and many more remain. I am sure, and I have no doubt, we shall deal with them. In doing so, we shall look upon all the countries of the world with friendly eyes. We carry no hostilities, no past hatred with others. We want to be friendly with others. We want to be friendly with all countries, and we are particularly happy to be friendly and cooperative with your country.

You will have seen, Sir, that even with a country with which we have been in conflict for generations past, which dominated over us for these generations, and we struggled for our freedom against it, even with that country we have chosen to be friendly, because we do not believe that out of hatred any good can come. We believe that hatred and violence only lead to more hatred and violence, and the only way to make progress in this world is to get rid of this past violence and hatred and suspicion and fear. We may not make a large difference to the world today, but if any of us, big or small, weak or powerful, works in the right way, I am quite sure that right results will follow. So we hope that under the inspiration of our great leader we shall follow the right path, having faith that right results will follow. And the right path must always be one which not merely aims at right objectives but which employs right means because ultimately the means govern the end. The end may be good but if wrong means are employed, even that end becomes perverted. So in that spirit I hope my country will approach not only her own problems but also the problems of the whole world and endeavour to further the cause of humanity as well as our own people.

I have no doubt that with your record of peace and democratic cooperation with other countries you also would work in that way in this country, and therefore

it is appropriate and proper that India and Switzerland should be friends and should help each other to their mutual advantage.

I am very grateful, Your Excellency, and to the Federal Council, for this welcome and I hope that this will be the beginning, or the continuation, of ever closer cooperation between our two countries.

2. Farewell to Switzerland¹

As I leave Switzerland after a brief but very full three-day stay, I wish to express my deep gratitude to you, to your colleagues of the Federal Council, your Government and the people of this beautiful country for the generous hospitality and goodwill that I have met everywhere.

For many years past Switzerland has occupied a warm corner of my heart and I have fresh memories which I shall treasure.

I hope the friendly bonds that unite our countries will grow ever closer. Again thanking you, I beg to assure you of my highest consideration.

1. Message to Ernst Nobs, Geneva, 5 May 1949. From the *National Herald*, 7 May 1949.

I. Bilateral Relations

viii. Other Countries

1. Stand on Indo-China¹

Question: Is there any likelihood of your visiting the United States?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I hope to visit Washington shortly at the invitation of President Truman.

Q: What is India's stand about the reports of foreign interference in the affairs of Indo-China?

JN: We are categorically opposed to any foreign interference in Indo-China. The Indian Government will back the Indo-Chinese Republican Government.

Q: Is there any proposal about India joining any regional pact?

JN: India does not contemplate joining any regional pact for the time being.

Q: Then what about India joining the Commonwealth?

JN: Our tie with the British Commonwealth is purely symbolic.

Q: Will India accept any foreign help to fight the communists?

JN: India will not accept any outside help.

1. Interview to the press, Cairo, 6 May 1949. From *The Hindustan Times* and the *National Herald*, 7 May 1949.

2. To John A. Costello¹

New Delhi
May 7, 1949

My dear Prime Minister,

I have delayed writing to you and thanking you for your warm-hearted hospitality during my brief visit to Dublin. You will forgive me, I hope, for this delay. I have been on the move since I visited Dublin and reached Delhi only this afternoon.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

It was to me not only a great pleasure but also the fulfilment of a long-felt desire to visit Ireland again. That visit was exceedingly short, and yet I hope that it did some good to our respective countries. Certainly it did good to me and I am very grateful to you and your colleagues for your invitation and for the exceedingly friendly way in which you received me. It was a signal honour for me to be invited to sit in the Dail² which I appreciated greatly. May I request you to convey my gratitude to the President,³ the Speaker of the Dail⁴ and your other colleagues?

Ever since I began to take intelligent interest in public affairs, or even earlier when I was a schoolboy, I have thought of Ireland with affection and a spirit of comradeship. What I have felt, innumerable other Indians have also felt. Ireland's long history of struggle and tragedy, bravely met and endured, has been a source of inspiration to generations in India. So a visit to Ireland has always a very special significance. That significance was heightened by the cordiality of your welcome and by the feeling that our countries have so much in common. I earnestly trust that we shall keep close together and cooperate in many tasks.

With all good wishes to you and to Ireland.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The lower house of the Irish Parliament.
3. Sean Thomas O'Kelly.
4. Frank Fahy.

3. West Asia¹

Now that Israel has been formally admitted to the United Nations, I think we should reconsider our attitude towards it. There is no immediate hurry, but at the same time I rather feel that there should be no great delay either. Egypt's attitude in regard to Hyderabad² has been irritating and I think it is about time that we made some of these Arab countries feel that we are not going to follow them in

1. Note to the Secretary General, 12 May 1949. File No. 46(15)-AWT/48, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. Egypt had cast her vote against India in the United Nations on the Hyderabad issue in September 1948.

everything in spite of what they do. I do not wish you to do anything just yet. We should at least wait till the United Nations Assembly is over and a little after. But it might be desirable to prepare the ground gradually in the minds of some of the Middle East ambassadors, etc., here.

4. To Lo Chia-luen¹

New Delhi
16 May 1949

My dear Dr Lo,²

Many thanks for your letter of the 12th May. I was very glad to have had an opportunity of having a full and frank talk with you on my return from Europe.

Yes, I did see the report of the Chinese delegate's speech over the South African question. That was in keeping with the support which China has given in the councils of the world to causes which India and Asia hold dear.

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Ambassador of China in India.

5. Military Supplies to Afghanistan¹

I have read Foreign Secretary's note. I am afraid the proposal made by Foreign Secretary for some kind of continuation of the Scheme Lancaster² is neither

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 18 May 1949. File No. 13(2)-IA/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. Under this Scheme, introduced in 1946, Britain supplied military equipment to Afghanistan. Afghanistan paid half of the cost, the remainder being shared by Britain and India.

feasible nor desirable at present.³ It would drag us into a great deal of trouble and tie us down to a commitment, which it may be very difficult for us to get rid of in future. As a matter of fact the Scheme depends entirely on the goodwill of the U.K. as well as certain facilities being supplied by intervening countries like Iran.⁴ I am quite certain that the U.K. will not, in the present circumstances, agree to it, because that would mean a direct slap to Pakistan, which they will never do. The result would thus be that we would be left with the baby. The charges of Pakistan and indeed of the U.K. that we are helping Afghanistan as against Pakistan, would be partly substantiated by our action. It will be difficult for us to explain all this away.

This matter could not possibly be raised again by us without specific reference to the Cabinet. There is already a Cabinet decision on the subject taken long time ago, probably over a year or more. We then came formally to the conclusion that we cannot go on supplying arms to Afghanistan at a loss to us. Indeed, we went further and said that we could not bear the loss in training their officers in the Indian Army. At that time we used to pay even the salary of the Afghan officers who came here, or the balance of salary plus all other expenses such as travelling, training, etc. We said that the most we could do is to give them free training. The Cabinet was definitely of opinion that we could not subsidise Afghanistan in this way by supplying arms at less than cost and bearing the loss.

Another objection to the proposal is that it involves us in some kind of a military arrangement with the U.K. as well as Afghanistan. We should avoid all such entanglements. As a matter of fact, we are doing our utmost to get arms for ourselves from the U.K. and not succeeding. An arrangement as suggested with the U.K. for Afghanistan would necessarily have an anti-Soviet look. I think this has to be avoided.

I am all for the maintenance of friendly relations with Afghanistan and in fact trying to make them more cordial. But we must be very careful not to give any promises which we cannot keep in future. That creates more ill will than a frank realisation of the position from the beginning. Even our financial situation at present and during the next two or three years at least will not permit us to be generous in this respect.

I think therefore that no step should be taken in regard to the Lancaster Scheme. In fact, if the question is raised by the Afghan Ambassador, he should be told clearly that much as we would like to be of assistance to them in every way, we cannot enter into this complicated relationship with the U.K. at this stage. He should not be left in doubt on this subject.

3. K.P.S. Menon, Foreign Secretary, suggested that Afghanistan be informed of India's desire to continue the Scheme subject to the availability of supplies from Britain.
4. Menon noted that on account of the tension prevailing between Afghanistan and Pakistan, the actual supplies might have to be routed through Iran instead of India.

6. China and Tibet¹

In view of developments in China, we should keep in close touch with their reactions in Tibet, and we shall think of the policy we should pursue there in case anything happens. The first thing to do is to get fairly full reports from Kashgar as to what is happening there. I do not know if you have received any such reports. If so, I should like to see them.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 5 June 1949. J.N. Collection.

7. Stand on China¹

Reference telegram 185 dated 10th June from Indembassy, Nanking.

2. In paragraph 4, the American Ambassador² is reported to have said that the Indian Government had promised to cooperate with the U.S.A. in China. We have of course done no such thing. Our Ambassador might be informed that we do not propose to align ourselves with anybody in regard to China.

1. Note to the Secretary General and Foreign Secretary, 15 June 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. J. Leighton Stuart.

8. Recognition of Israel¹

It is clear now that we shall have to recognise Israel some time or other. That time cannot be later than the beginning of the next General Assembly of the U.N., that

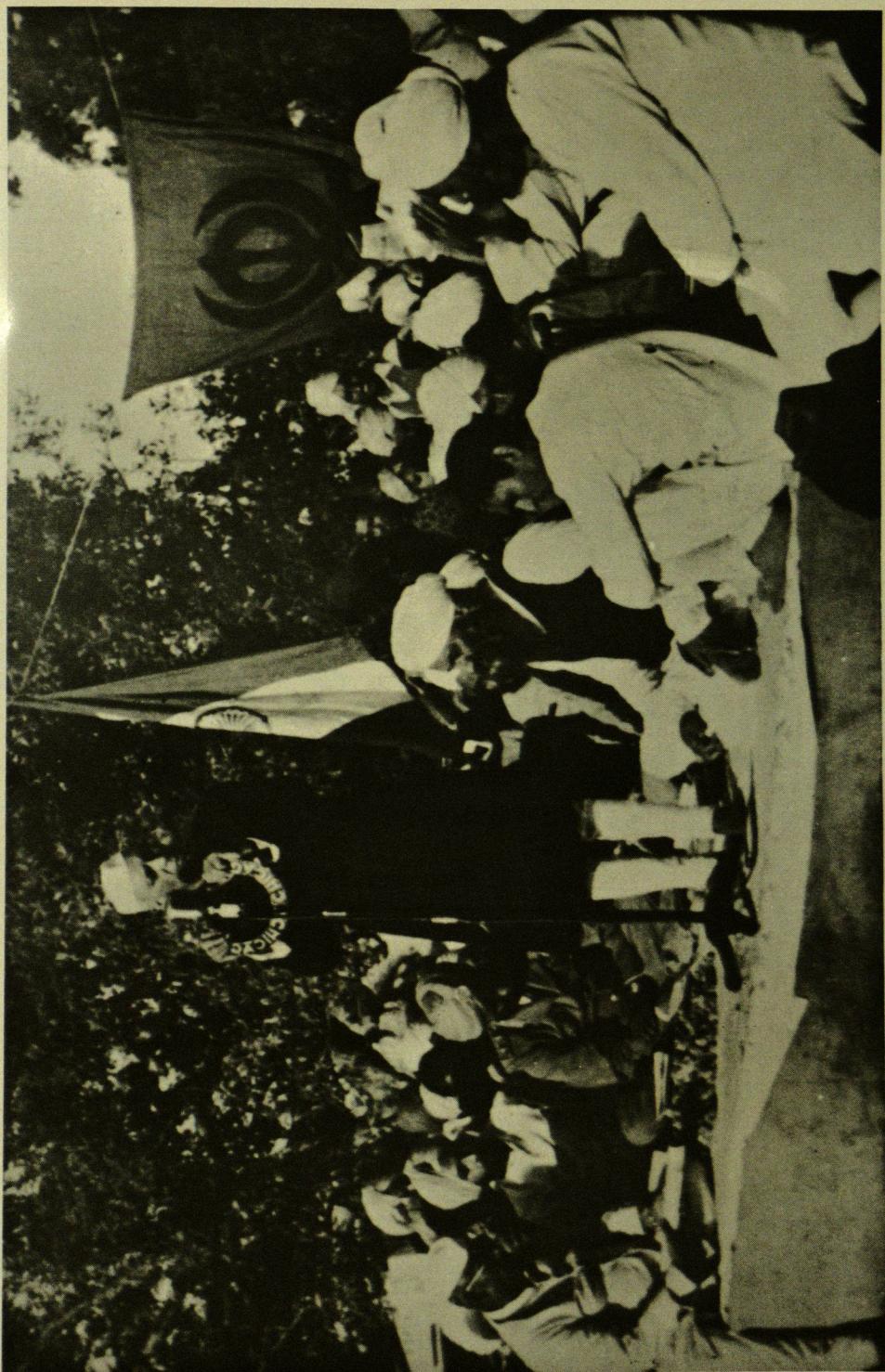
1. Note to the Secretary General, 19 June 1949. File No. 46(15)-AWT/48, M.E.A., N.A.I.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

is in September. Preferably, it should be some time before that, say in August. If so, I think it is as well gradually to accustom the minds of the ambassadors here from Egypt, Iran and Afghanistan to this proposed step that we are likely to take.

2. Even Zafrullah stated in his press conference after his return from the U.S.A. that Israel had come to stay and the only questions were the future of Jerusalem and that of the Arab refugees. The question is whether we can deal with these questions more effectively by not recognising Israel. Our not recognising it makes little difference when nearly all other countries have recognised it. It seems better, therefore, for us to fall into line with others.

3. I suggest, therefore, that you might rather casually give this hint to the ambassadors mentioned above, and possibly our ambassadors in those countries. As to when we should take the step, we can consider later.



SPEAKING AT PRESENTATION OF ABHINANDAN GRANTH TO BABA KHARAK SINGH, NEW DELHI, 6 JUNE 1949



ONE OF THE MANY CARDS FROM JAPANESE CHILDREN ASKING FOR AN ELEPHANT, JUNE 1949

FOREIGN POLICY
II. Foreign Possessions in India

1. Future of the Foreign Possessions¹

It is the policy of the Government of India to bring about the incorporation of foreign possessions in India peacefully and cooperatively. It is realised that the administrative, cultural, educational and judicial systems which have grown up in these foreign possessions are different from those prevailing in the rest of India. Any changeover therefore must take these factors into consideration and allow for a gradual readjustment which will not interfere with the autonomy and the life of the people of the area concerned. In particular the Government would welcome the continuation of the cultural heritage of these areas.

French possessions in India will thus, on being politically incorporated, be administered as autonomous units on the lines of a Chief Commissioner's province² and any changes in the administrative set-up will be carried out after consulting local public opinion. The special linguistic and cultural rights of the area will be preserved. The Government of India will provide adequate funds for carrying on the administration in place of the French subsidies. Pensions and salaries of the present officials in French India will continue to be paid by the Government of India.

Something on the above lines might be issued. This should not be in the form of an official Government communique.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 20 May 1949. File No. 15(47) Eur-I/49, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. By the Act of 1935, a Chief Commissioner's province was to be administered by the Governor General acting through a Chief Commissioner to be appointed by him at his discretion.

2. Message to Robert Schuman¹

Your Excellency,

I have read an account of the interview² which Your Excellency was good enough

1. New Delhi, 20 May 1949. The message was delivered by P.P. Pillai, Indian Charge d'Affaires in Paris on 24 May. File No. 15(29) Eur.-I/49, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. Schuman, Foreign Minister of France, in his meeting with Pillai expressed concern at the economic hardship suffered by the people of the French territories in India following the termination of the Customs Union Agreement. He requested this matter to be approached in a spirit of understanding, sympathy and good neighbourliness and wished his views to be conveyed to Nehru. He also said that neutral observers for the proposed referendum were to be selected by the International Court of Justice.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

to grant to our Charge d'Affaires on the 14th as well as the memorandum³ handed over to him.

I would like to convey to Your Excellency my personal appreciation of the sentiments of friendship expressed by you to our Charge d'Affaires and to reciprocate them. I share Your Excellency's desire that such difficulties and misunderstandings as may have arisen between our two Governments should be resolved in the traditional spirit of friendship and understanding that has existed between our two countries. For our part, the strengthening of friendly relations with France has been and is one of the main principles of our foreign policy. I am asking our Charge d'Affaires to hand over an aide-memoire⁴ to you containing my Government's views on the present situation in the French Settlements in India.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurance of my highest consideration.

Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The memorandum regretted the "quasi-total stoppage of economic relations with the territories of the Indian Union" and between the French territories and enclaves which, according to it, amounted to economic blockade of the French settlements.
4. The aide-memoire presented on 24 May reiterated India's "earnest desire to cooperate in the fulfilment of measures to ensure free and fair referendum." It renewed India's offer to continue the Customs Union Agreement till the referendum so as to avoid economic hardship to the inhabitants. Meantime efforts would be made to enforce the preventive measures reasonably and without causing harassment.

3. To B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya¹

New Delhi
May 24, 1949

My dear Pattabhi,

The Portuguese Minister here² has drawn our attention to an item of news in the *Khilafat* newspaper of Bombay. I enclose an extract. The *Khilafat* is not an important paper and I do not know how far this news item is correct or not. I am writing to you further to point out that it would be unfortunate if any aggressive movement was started against the Portuguese regime in Goa just at present. I doubt if this movement would achieve any results except a great deal of unhappiness for a number of people. We propose to proceed in a different manner. We are sending

1. J.N. Collection.

2. V.V. Garin.

soon a Minister to Lisbon and a new Consul General is going to Goa. We hope to take up the future of Goa with the Portuguese Government. This, no doubt, is a slow process and we cannot achieve any substantial results soon. But I see no other way. We are having trouble enough with the French possessions. It is no good adding to that trouble.

I do not know who is responsible for those activities in Goa or outside. I am writing to you as perhaps the Congress office here might know and might be able to get in touch with those people. In doing so I should not like you to mention my name or the Government of India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
5 June 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 4 June. About judges' salaries, I shall have the schedule you refer to, which the Chief Justice of India sent to us, circulated to the members of the Cabinet. I have got a copy of it with me.

The reply to Attlee about Hong Kong has already been sent and I suppose you have seen it.² I shall make sure that it is being sent to you.

The British are in a very odd position in regard to China. On the one hand they do not wish to recognize the new government quickly. On the other hand there are certain aspects of the question which induce them to recognize it. Of course, for the present, the question of recognition has not arisen, because the organized central government has not been even announced. The old Nationalist Government is rapidly fading out and it would be difficult for it to be recognized for long. After that, another difficulty will arise as to who should represent China on the Security Council of the U.N. If nobody represents it, then, constitutionally speaking, the Security Council is not properly constituted, as one of its permanent members is missing. Meanwhile the communists in China are behaving very correctly towards the foreigners and even business is continuing to some extent.

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 136-137.

2. For Nehru's cable to Attlee, see *ante*, sub-section I (i), item 1.

I do not understand what we are expected to do in Goa and any criticism of our action there is singularly inept. Various happenings in regard to Goa—firstly Lohia's movement³ and, secondly, the agitation for a Maharashtra province including Goa⁴—have rather queered our pitch. People seem to forget that a large part of Goa is Catholic by religion and has got certain vested interests in the present regime. They are thoroughly frightened by the Maharashtra agitation. I rather doubt what the result of a plebiscite in Goa would be. Some of our newspapers and some of our legislators have got into the habit of talking about strong action being taken all over the world, without either understanding the question or realising the consequences.

I shall put your viewpoint in regard to the air services⁵ before the Cabinet.

I think it would be unwise for you to go to Travancore early in July, especially as I shall be away for a number of days in Ladakh. Important developments are taking place from day-to-day and one of us should be near at hand.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

3. On 18 June 1946, Rammanohar Lohia went to Goa with a batch of volunteers to demonstrate against Portuguese rule. Lohia's second attempt to enter Goa with a group of satyagrahis in November 1948 was prevented by the Portuguese authorities.
4. Immediate formation of a united Maharashtra province, including Goa, Hyderabad, Kolhapur, Berar, Bombay, and the Central Provinces, was demanded unanimously at the United Maharashtra Conference held in Bombay on 17 October 1948 under the leadership of Ramrao Deshmukh.
5. Patel was concerned about the deteriorating conditions of air services and had suggested that the experience and resources of the private companies, which had gone into liquidation, be utilised by setting up a corporation with State control.

5. Cable to Debendra Nath Das¹

The news of the decision of the overwhelming majority of the people of Chandernagore,² freely expressed by the democratic method of a referendum, to

1. New Delhi, 20 June 1949, File No. 9/37/49-PMS. Debendra Nath Das was president, Council of Administration, Chandernagore.
2. The merger of Chandernagore with India was decided in a referendum held on 19 June 1949. 7,473 residents voted in favour of merger with India and 114 against.

join the Indian Union has naturally caused me and my colleagues great satisfaction, a satisfaction which, I feel sure, is shared by the entire Indian people. We welcome Chandernagore and its people to the Indian Union, and to the Indian Republic to be, as partners in the disciplined liberty of a great country and in the great tasks that confront us.

It is particularly gratifying to me that the referendum should have passed off peacefully. The Government and people of France, for whom the Government and the people of India entertain feelings of sincere friendship, should see in the result of the referendum in Chandernagore proof of the sentiment of the people of these settlements in India for reunion with their motherland and of India's desire that this process of change, inevitable by reasons of history, geography, culture and the spirit of the times, should be voluntary and peaceful and should strengthen the existing bonds of friendship between India and France.

I send my greetings to the people of Chandernagore and my good wishes for their future progress and prosperity. The form in which Chandernagore will join the Indian Union will be decided after full consideration of all the issues involved, including, more especially, the wishes of the people. *Jai Hind.*

FOREIGN POLICY
III. General

1. Colonial Exploitation and Racial Discrimination¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: At one time in my somewhat varied career I functioned also as a journalist. Newspapers are today the eyes and ears of the world. They have a very difficult task and are shouldering very heavy responsibilities.

I am just coming from London. I am going back to India. In London certain agreements were arrived at. It would not be proper for me to discuss matters that were considered in London or the wider political problems of Europe and the world.

Question: As Foreign Minister could you tell us about the foreign policy of independent India?

JN: Normally foreign ministers deal with other governments, not directly with the press. Although I am not the usual type of foreign minister—that is to say, I have not been brought up in that tradition, and most of my life I have been what might be called an agitator—I am apt to say things foreign ministers should not say, and I have to restrain myself. It is India's desire to do her utmost in the cause of world peace. During the last thirty years or more India has followed, generally speaking, the advice that Mahatma Gandhi gave her. Even in our struggle for freedom against the British Government we tried to follow peaceful methods.

So the whole background in India, in spite of our failings and weaknesses, is one of peace. We are horrified at the idea of major world conflicts ending our progress as well as that of every other country for a long time to come.

Europe has seen great material progress and scientific achievement. Europe has also been the scene of major conflicts and wars. So you see these two processes going side by side. Europe in fact has rather dominated world politics for some hundreds of years. I think that Europe will continue to play a very important part in world politics because of her high development, civilisation and culture.

But something is happening today that is very important for people to understand—the emergence or re-emergence of Asia in world politics. This is significant, first of all, because of the elimination of European control of any part of Asia. This is fading out rapidly. It still exists in some parts of Asia where conflicts are going on. But I think it is absolutely certain that any form of European control of any part of Asia will disappear.

You see in Asia today great forces at play—in some places something of the nature of human earthquakes—and the whole continent is shaken up by them. No one can say exactly what shape things will take. In the coming years Asia's problems may well become more important in the world sense than Europe's problems. That is the first thing to remember.

1. Address to a press conference at Berne, 5 May 1949. Over sixty Swiss and foreign correspondents attended the conference. From the *National Herald*, 6 May 1949.

The second is perhaps not quite so obvious but it is very important, that is, what is happening in Africa. It may take a little time to develop but there is little doubt that Africa will also affect world affairs very greatly in several ways. There is the question of colonial control and exploitation of Africa by foreign countries. Another is the racial problem.

Whatever the merits, demerits or whatever arguments there may be about the racial question, or whatever views one may hold, one fact is obvious that unless this problem is settled satisfactorily we are going to have upheavals and conflicts. But if we are wise today and if there is peace in Africa and elsewhere, we may avoid them.

In India we have been committed for a long time to two policies. The first is that each country should be free. There should be no colonial exploitation and these free countries should cooperate together in the interests of the larger world cause. We do believe that there can be no final solution of world problems until there is a fairly intimate type of world cooperation.

Our second belief is that the world must recognise that there must be no racial discrimination. Any policy based on racial discrimination obviously gives rise to conflict and in the present context of the world, people do not put up with that sort of thing. They resist it.

Freedom and racial equality are the essential prerequisites for the peaceful solution of our major problems, leading up to the larger sphere of cooperation and collaboration in the world, and then again leading up, I hope, to some sort of one-world idea.

Q: What is the future of the Christian churches in India?

JN: The Indian State is completely secular—it gives complete freedom of religion. We do not show any privilege to any one religion, although the great majority of the people belong to the Hindu religion.

Even now you must remember that although India has been partitioned, and unfortunately on a somewhat religious basis, even so there are about thirty-five million Muslims in India today.

There are quite a large number of Christians and Buddhists and as many Catholics as there are in Switzerland.

Q: Why exactly does India want to become a republic?

JN: That is an odd question to be asked in Berne. The idea of a republic had been before the Indian public for the last generation and now the Indian Constituent Assembly has decided on this.

The Indian Constituent Assembly, due to assemble in about ten days' time, will sit from day-to-day to finish the remaining one-third of the Constitution. I expect this may take two or three months more and then we shall choose a suitable day to proclaim the Republic. This may be in four, five or six months from now.

2. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
May 7, 1949

My dear Krishna,

I arrived here this afternoon. My three days in Switzerland were pretty full and interesting. I had little rest, as the Swiss spent a good deal of their time in consuming and trying to make their guests consume large quantities of food. But the Swiss Government did all in their power to show honour to us and I liked my visit.

I have come back here to face accumulations of work. People seem to have a habit here of postponing important matters till I come back, and so I have to catch up. There is the Kashmir problem in a critical stage. The refugees are always with us. The Assam border States are giving trouble and even flirting with Pakistan, and there are innumerable internal problems.

Latest reports from Kashmir indicate that the Pakistani forces have been aggressive. Between them and our forces, there are strips of no-man's land. They have occupied part of this territory and even committed petty raids in many places. From Pakistan news comes of war fever being encouraged. This was being done before I went to London. Whether the decisions of the London Conference will make any difference or not, I do not know. I understand that the Pakistan press is not happy about the London meeting. They had hoped that India would be out of the Commonwealth and then they could have a free hand in Kashmir.

I have not had time yet to assess opinion here about the London decisions. I have the impression, however, that there is far greater welcome of them than I had at first imagined. Opposition there is, of course, but on the whole it appears to be rather formal opposition, more with a view to election tactics.

Indu is well. She was in Bombay and accompanied me back to Delhi.

During our talks at Broadlands, you mentioned various matters to me in regard to which I was supposed to take some action. I am sorry I have not a clear

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

recollection of these, though some things I remember. Could you send me a brief reminder?

I enclose a copy of a letter I am sending to Costello.² I am inclined to think there will be some trouble in Ireland, and certainly much resentment at the recent statement by the U.K. Government about Northern Ireland not joining the rest till the North Ireland Parliament agrees. Bitter feelings against England will again come into prominence and it will be said that England is perpetuating the Partition.

I am glad you gave a press interview about Ganapati's case. I am sorry to say that I rather forgot about it or else I might have mentioned it to Noel-Baker and others. There is considerable feeling in this matter here and it is peculiarly unfortunate that this execution has taken place so soon after the London Conference. A telegram has been sent to you about a like case, Shivam, I think, is the name. I hope you will point out that this kind of thing is having very bad reactions in India.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. See *ante*, Section 9, sub-section I (viii), item 2.

3. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
May 17, 1949

Nan dear,

I received your letter of the 10th May today. I have now been back just ten days from England and Switzerland and they have been, as you can well imagine, pretty busy days.

Today the Constituent Assembly ratified the London agreement on India and the Commonwealth. After a dull two days' debate, proceedings rather warmed up towards the end and my last speech² apparently produced some effect. In the end there was only Hasrat Mohani's lonely voice that protested.³ Probably if there had been voting, three persons might have voted against—Hasrat Mohani, Shibanlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See *ante*, Section 8, item 7.

3. Hasrat Mohani opposed India's association with the British Commonwealth and wanted India to declare herself an independent republic and "enter into an alliance with all other free countries by means of responsive cooperation."

Saksena and K.T. Shah. This particular matter is for the time being closed, though it will be discussed in the A.I.C.C. at the end of this week at Dehra Dun.⁴

My particular headaches of the present moment are: Kashmir, refugee problem, food situation and the general economic situation. The latter two are rather interrelated. Generally speaking it might be said that both the food and the economic situation are static with just a slight indication towards improvement. It may be that the current harvest, which has been good all the world over, may improve the food situation and bring down the wheat price and it is the price of wheat that governs everything. In any event we hope to give concentrated attention to this food and economic problem after a few weeks. You will remember Boyd Orr who came here. He has given a slightly alarmist report.

Kashmir has been giving me a great deal of trouble in two ways. The Kashmir Commission has presented proposals which we do not like at all and which we are practically rejecting. I do not know what Pakistan will do. If Pakistan more or less accepts them, this may go rather against us in the Security Council later. But we have found from experience that acceptance of vague formulae which are capable of various interpretations, is a dangerous business. Pakistan is amazingly unscrupulous and sometimes it almost appears that unscrupulousness pays. Meanwhile Pakistan is going full steam ahead with military preparations. Indeed their last Budget devoted, I think, about sixty-five crores out of seventy crores of revenue to military purposes. I do not remember the exact figures, but this is a rough estimate. This is fantastic and it can only be done through current cash in hand. They got a large sum from us after partition and they have apparently squandered it completely on their military. It is difficult to understand how Pakistan can carry on in this way for more than a year or two. They are functioning as a military State hoping to make good by war or by threats of war. Their idea appears to be to settle their refugee problem also by sending them to Kashmir. This is based on the assumption that the Hindus and possibly a number of Muslims will run away from Kashmir with the threat of Pakistan coming there.

The other headache about Kashmir is due to the activities of the Maharaja and Shaikh Abdullah in contrary directions. On the whole Shaikh Abdullah has been more irresponsible of the two and has made some very foolish statements. We have just had a long conference with Abdullah, Bakshi and others, and the Maharaja and the Maharani are here also. As a result some kind of agreement is in sight. Of course new troubles are bound to come and we should not complain if they do come.

I am not surprised at the reception you got in New York and Washington. I am quite sure that you will be able to serve India to great advantage there. There is no doubt that America can help us tremendously in many ways. We have to

4. The A.I.C.C. passed a resolution on the Commonwealth on 21 May 1949. For full text, see *ante*, Section 8, item 9.

proceed rather cautiously about it. It is possible that Dr Matthai, our Finance Minister, might himself visit the U.S. sometime in September to attend some meetings of the International Fund or some such thing. I am supposed to go to the U.S. about mid-October.⁵ I shall adhere to this programme, unless something very extraordinary occurs, and I intend being there roughly for about three weeks. You will have to think about the programme for my three weeks and for this purpose you will no doubt consult the State Department. There is no hurry about it. I am told that the idea is that I should be the guest of the President for the first two or three days. After that I move to the Embassy, so long as I am in Washington. I do not know where else I have to go to, but I should like to visit California and I should like to spend a weekend at a ranch. I am sure to be overwhelmed with invitations. I do not propose to tie myself down. The India League will no doubt like to play an important part in regard to my visit. I do not wish to ignore it, but at the same time I do not wish to pay too much attention to it and certainly not to Mr J.J. Singh.⁶

I think it will be a good thing if Indu accompanied me to the U.S. This will be good from many points of view including Indu's. I am not quite sure if she will ultimately agree to do so.

You need not be worried about Chand and I do not see why you should particularly dislike Ashok's going to Goa.⁷ Goa is not obviously one of our choice places, but we are going to deal with the Goa question intensively in the future and therefore we wanted a better man than we have had there. We shall be sending a representative to Lisbon soon. As soon as this is done, we shall raise this Goa matter formally with the Portuguese Government. We are thinking of separating Goa from the Pondicherry Consul-Generalship with which it had been connected thus far. It will thus be an independent post directly under Delhi and this will mean a rise in status for our representative there.

Chand came here two days ago with Ashok and is busy packing, or rather first unpacking and packing for Goa. She seems to be quite happy.

My visit to Switzerland was a very busy one, but I enjoyed it thoroughly. The Swiss Government went out of their way to do me honour.

It is very hot here, but in the Constituent Assembly Chamber it is so cool that I shivered today.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. Nehru visited the United States from 11 October to 7 November 1949.
6. President, India League of America.
7. Vijayalakshmi Pandit did not like her son-in-law, Ashok Mehta's posting to Goa where anti-Indian feeling and lawlessness were on the increase, following the announcement by the Government of India in April 1949 that foreign possessions in India were bound to be integrated with India in the near future.

10
MISCELLANEOUS

1. To B.F.H.B. Tyabji¹

New Delhi
May 12, 1949

My dear Badr,²

P.A. Menon³ has shown your letter to me of the 15th April.

I was interested to read an account of your interview with the Princess de Ligne.⁴ As for my appearance, you have seen me since you wrote and you can judge for yourself whether I am completely worn out or not. I suppose the Princess means well, indeed I am sure she does, and some of her criticisms are justified though they are much exaggerated.⁵ Her reference to my engagements is partly true and the particular instance she gives when I visited a refugee show, is correct. But she seems to forget that in dealing with masses of human beings in distress, psychology is more important than time. Anyhow, it is not my household that is wrong; if anything is wrong, it is in me.

As regards Government House, again she is partly right. It is a change after the Mountbattens, but her criticism is wide of the mark. She refers to the misbehaviour of an A.D.C. This is only true to the extent that an A.D.C. wanted to give a party but was prevented from doing so and in fact is being transferred because of this transgression.

The second instance she refers to was a party in Government House actually for the staff and soldiers, bodyguard etc.⁶ It was not really meant for the diplomats, but because Subbulakshmi⁷ was singing the diplomats were also included.

1. File No. 5(5)-Eur/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.

2. Badruddin Tyabji was the Charge d'Affaires in Belgium from 1948-50.

3. Parakat Achutha Menon (1905-1975); joined I.C.S. in 1929; served in various capacities in Madras Presidency; Deputy Secretary and Secretary, Supply Mission in U.S.A., 1943-47; Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, 1947-49; Minister to Portugal, 1949-51; Ambassador to Belgium, 1951-54, and to Thailand, 1954-56; High Commissioner to Australia and New Zealand, 1956-59; Ambassador to Argentina, 1959-60, and to Federal Republic of Germany, 1960-64.

4. The wife of the Belgian Ambassador to India.

5. Princess de Ligne had said that Nehru was on the verge of a nervous breakdown due to overwork and a tiring routine. She criticised the holding of a refugee meeting, organised in a tent on a hot afternoon, which Nehru addressed after many others had done so.

6. The Princess described a party at the Government House where among other things there was no one to receive guests, entry was not regulated and formal dress was dispensed with.

7. M.S. Subbulakshmi (b. 1916); well known singer of Carnatic music; has received national and international awards.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Princess de Ligne is a delightful representative of the ancient regime. It is a little difficult for her to understand or appreciate people risen from the ranks as it were. I fear many of our colleagues have not had a course in drawing room manners; they have spent most of their time in prison.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
June 2, 1949

My dear Sachar,

I enclose a letter which Rajkumari Amrit Kaur has received from the Women's Christian Medical College, Ludhiana. The letter will speak for itself.

There is sometimes some feeling against missionary institutions in India chiefly because of their attempts to convert. But I think that hospitals, medical colleges and the like, run by missionaries, should be encouraged as they do good work. The Ludhiana institution trains girl doctors as well as nurses and we stand badly in need of both. I think, therefore, it will certainly be worthwhile for the East Punjab Government to encourage it. This does not mean any additional burden. In fact funds come from abroad. I think it would be a good thing if you could indicate to this Ludhiana Medical College that they have your good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to Amrit Kaur.

3. Kharak Singh¹

There are few hands which can uphold the prestige and honour of the National Flag² better than those of Baba Kharak Singh. He was a tower of strength to his

1. Speech at a meeting to celebrate the eighty-second birthday of Kharak Singh, New Delhi, 6 June 1949. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindustan Times*, 7 June 1949.
2. Nehru presented a silver replica of the Flag to Kharak Singh, a prominent Sikh leader of the Punjab.

countrymen. His record of honesty and integrity cannot easily be equalled. He was matchless in his adherence to the lofty principles of truth and non-violence. These are the qualities which make a nation great and strong. Though people have sometimes differed from him, they are forced to acknowledge his greatness.

4. To K.G. Saiyadin¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1949

My dear Saiyadin,

You have written to me in such a poetic way that it is difficult to reply to you. Being human, I appreciate what you have written, although it is also exaggerated. After many knocks and disappointments, all that is left to one is to function to the best of one's ability with a certain dignity and to try to adhere to some standards and values. It is difficult, because life is illogical and is governed by so many uncertain factors. It is difficult enough for the individual, but it is much more difficult for one who has to deal with innumerable human beings who pull in different directions.

Anyway, thank you for your letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

5. To Ramdas Gandhi¹

New Delhi
13 June 1949

My dear Ramdas,

I have just received your letter.² I confess that you have put me in a difficulty. My own inclination is to advise you not to visit Nathuram Godse. I do not think

1. File No. 23(4)-GG/49, President's Secretariat.
2. On 11 June 1949 Ramdas Gandhi wrote to Nehru, asking for permission to visit Nathuram Godse in jail in response to a request from Godse.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

this visit at this stage can serve any useful purpose. But in this matter I should like to be guided by what Shri Rajagopalachari and Sardar Patel may advise. I am therefore writing to them on this subject. You have sent the copies of letters to them already.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To Gopinath Bardoloi¹

New Delhi
June 17, 1949

My dear Bardoloi,

You wrote to me sometime back about Rani Gaidiliu and expressed your apprehension about her release, in case she visited the Naga Hills. I must confess that keeping a woman in prison and detention for eighteen or nineteen years appears to me monstrous. If conditions in the Naga Hills are bad, then you can ask her not to go there. Otherwise, she should have her freedom and in view of her long incarceration, Government should provide for her in some way. Chaliha has been writing to me about her and came to see me also. I wish you would speak to him about this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

7. An Elephant for Japanese Children¹

You have seen the hundreds of letters I have received from Japanese children asking me to supply them with an elephant for their zoo in Tokyo.² In this connection

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 18 June 1949. File No. 2(417)/49-PMS.
2. The elephants in the Tokyo zoo were killed by Allied bombing during the War.

I have also received a letter (attached) from the Chief of the Japanese Giant Salamander Breeding Association. He offers these Giant Salamanders in exchange apparently for our elephants. I do not know what a Giant Salamander is. Perhaps you could have an enquiry made from our zoological authorities as to whether it is desirable for us to get one.

2. But quite apart from this, I think, it is desirable for us to send an elephant to Japan. The difficulty is about transport. Would you please get in touch with our representative in Japan and inform him that I have received these hundreds of letters from Japanese children. It might be worthwhile to mention the names of some of the schools from which these letters have come. Tell him that we shall gladly send an elephant if arrangements for transport can be made by the Japanese authorities.³ He might let us know what their reaction is.

3. As soon as we have decided upon this, our representative can give a party to these children and tell them of what we are doing. Meanwhile he should convey to them in such a manner as he thinks fit that I have received these letters and am considering this matter.

3. Indira, a baby elephant, was handed over to the children of Japan as a gift on 1 October 1949.

GLOSSARY

Arshaprayog	Vedic usage
Chamar	one of the Scheduled Castes
Chaprasi	attendant
Firman	royal edict
Gompa	Buddhist monastery
Jagirdari	land-holding
Jai Hind	victory to India
Kharif	winter harvest
Sadar-i-Riyasat	head of state
Satyam Eva Jayate	truth alone triumphs
Taccavi	advance given to cultivator
Taluka	sub-division
Vanaspatti	hydrogenated vegetable oil
Yuvaraj	heir apparent

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During the period from 1 May to 20 June 1949 covered by this volume Jawaharlal Nehru was preoccupied with the tasks of nation-building. He was concerned with improving the economy, particularly food production, the rehabilitation of refugees, the final stages of constitution-making and problems of education and culture. The declining state of the Congress was a matter of serious concern; so also the violence and terrorism indulged in by the communists. These disruptive tendencies rather than the theory of communism were stressed and dealt with. The remedy, according to Nehru, was a positive approach combining an effective economic programme with a personal touch.

Kashmir remained a problem, with Pakistan continuing to be in an aggressive mood, the United Nations Commission attempting to tone down India's stand and the Maharaja and Shaikh Abdullah moving in contrary directions. But a firm approach improved the general situation.

The agreement reached in London at the end of April on the continuance of India in the Commonwealth on her becoming a republic was expected to provide stability and security to the country and to help achieve rapid progress without limiting freedom of action. Nehru defended the decision in the Constituent Assembly and before the All India Congress Committee. In external affairs, the emphasis was on the development of bilateral relations with the great powers as well as with the neighbours. While only constitutional agitation by the Nepalese could be permitted in India, political reforms in that country were regarded as imperative.

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